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This report on the sequence of events and administrative decisions leading up to voter action on public library bond issues presents a description of the process that each of three Illinois cities went through. In two of the three cities a new library has not been built because the bond issue referendums were defeated by the voters. In the third city, voters approved the bond issue in its second referendum. The descriptions of the processes are followed by a comparative discussion of each element in these processes. The results of the analysis have been generalized and are presented as flow charts, along with other conclusions drawn from these three experiences. Suggestions for a successful campaign, based on this examination, involve: anticipation of opposition; use of a citizens' committee; a good knowledge of local politics; approaching the community power structure before the campaign opens; use of opinion polls; advice and technical assistance from the American Library Association; retaining professionally trained public relations personnel; and a continuous effort to explain and demonstrate how a public library can serve its community. (Author/JB)

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FINANCING PUBLIC LIBRARY EXPANSION

CASE STUDIES OF
THREE DEFEATED BOND ISSUE REFERENDUMS

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FINANCING PUBLIC LIBRARY EXPANSION; CASE STUDIES OF THREE DEFEATED BOND ISSUE REFERENDUMS

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Paul Powell
Secretary of State
and State Librarian

Illinois State Library
Springfield, Illinois
July 1968

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We would like to thank our colleagues in the Library Research Center who helped in planning and carrying through the study. Special thanks are due to Dr. Guy Garrison, Director of the Center, who provided invaluable guidance.

Responsibility for the report, of course, remains with the authors.

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PREFACE

This report on the sequence of events and administrative decisions leading up to voter action on public library bond issues presents a description of the process that each of three Illinois cities went through. In two of the three cities a new library has not been built because the bond issue referendums were defeated by the voters. In the third city, voters approved the bond issue on its second go-around, and the public library is now housed in its new quarters. Descriptions of the process each city went through are followed by a comparative discussion of each element in this process. The results of this discussion have been generalized and are presented as flow charts in Chapter VIII, along with other conclusions drawn from these three experiences.

A librarian who wants to use these results in planning his own campaign should be aware of several limitations which must be placed on our conclusions. The events described occurred in one state. Public libraries in other states may operate under somewhat different laws, and different strategies or procedures may be necessary. Our information on successful campaigns comes from only one of the three cities, in addition to published reports of campaigns. Thus we cannot be certain precisely what combination of organization, strategy, and luck is necessary for a library bond issue to pass.

Much hard work by many people is involved in planning a new public library and in planning and carrying out a campaign to secure voter approval for a bond issue. Even if the bond issue referendum fails, it does not negate the time and effort put into it. Our report is not intended as a criticism of those who worked for, or against, the library. We have tried to describe the events that took place and the decisions that were made. Then we have abstracted some general conclusions from these processes, in the hope that descriptions of unsuccessful experiences might suggest how to plan for successful campaigns.

CHAPTER I

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

The American system of government provides many opportunities for the citizen to express his preferences on how his government will be conducted. While this expression of preference is not necessarily clear-cut when the citizen votes for a candidate for elective office, the preference is more clearly defined when the citizen votes on a referendum. In such a situation, especially when a bond issue is involved, the citizen is asked directly to approve, or disapprove, a specific course of action--the governmental unit should, or should not, issue the bonds.[1]

Although the behavior of voters toward referendums has long concerned researchers in political science and sociology, persons in other disciplines have also become interested in the referendum as an object of study. For example, studies of referendums involving bond issues to finance capital construction of schools and public libraries have been made by librarians and educators.[2]

Several approaches are available to the researcher who is interested in studying a referendum. If he can anticipate the election date sufficiently, he can observe the entire process himself. Such an approach presupposes that he is interested not only in the outcome but in the events which occurred prior to the election. This approach also presumes that the investigator can spend the necessary time on the scene, if indeed he can anticipate the occurrence of the referendum. Foreknowledge of referendums on library bond issues is difficult because there is no central source of information about when such issues will be brought to a vote.

The investigator may also conduct a panel study if he can anticipate the election date. The panel study, involving repeated interviews with the same respondents, can be used to examine changes over a period of time.[3] Lazarsfeld and his associates applied the panel technique to study the presidential elections of 1940 and 1948[4] and the technique has been widely used since for studying elective campaigns. The panel technique has not been frequently used in studies of referendums, however, perhaps because the people who might change their vote would be few and difficult to identify in advance. Asking voters about their views on the referendum, when done before the election, might influence the outcome.

A third method open to the researcher who can anticipate the occurrence of a referendum is to conduct an opinion survey of the population almost immediately after the voting. This approach can be useful in determining how members of various socio-economic groups voted and in suggesting reasons for the individual's decision to vote, or not to vote, as well as his decision to vote for or against the issue on the ballot. The potential exists for cooperation between researchers who are interested in voting in local elections per se, and researchers interested in voting on specific types of issues, such as those involving schools or libraries. One example of this cooperation is a study of citizen reaction to the public schools of Birmingham, Michigan, in which researchers from Eastern Michigan University and the University of Michigan worked with laymen and educators of Birmingham.[5] While the preliminary results of this study were actually used by school officials to plan their campaign strategy, cooperation might also take a "pure" form, seeking understanding of the forces operating in a particular situation without attempting to influence events.

In addition to methods which can be used if the investigator is able to make his research plans before voting takes place, methods are also available to the researcher who wishes to investigate a vote which has already occurred. If the election was held in the not-too-distant past, the researcher may still be able to use a survey of voter opinion to suggest reasons for the outcome and to provide some insight into the motivation of individual voters. The former approach was used by Fincher in his survey of voter opinion on reasons for the defeat of a bond issue in Atlanta, Georgia, in August, 1962.[6]

A second approach to the study of an election which has already occurred depends more on the availability of voting statistics than on the timing of the election. Ecological analysis has been widely used in voting studies to examine relationships between characteristics of groups of people and the voting record of these groups. Garrison has used a form of ecological analysis on library elections to examine relationships between the socio-economic characteristics of groups, as revealed in census tracts, and the voting record, as recorded by election precincts.[7] This method involves the assumption that the people living in the census tract are similar and has the further limitation that any relationships found say little about the behavior of individuals.

Practitioners could use Garrison's methods and results to suggest areas of a particular city which might be most favorable to a forthcoming bond issue proposal. The applicability of this type of ecological or social area analysis is limited by the kind of socio-economic data which are available for a particular city. The 1960 Census of Population did not publish socioeconomic data by census tracts for cities located outside Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. If an investigator uses census tract data, he is also limited by the date at which the information was collected; some tracts change radically within a fairly short period.

A third method of investigating previous referendums involves a case study approach. An observer cannot be placed on the scene after the election is over. But the people who were involved can be interviewed in order to obtain insight into the events which took place before, during, and after the referendum. The case study approach involves gathering information about the communities in which the library bond issue elections took place. In addition to local newspaper articles for the period involved, a wide variety of other data can be assembled about the community, its politics, and history. Black has provided a useful guide to such materials.[8] Although she uses one specific metropolitan area as an example, similar sources can also be used to obtain information about other cities. For one unfamiliar with a community, detailed maps are essential, especially a map showing the voting precincts. Election statistics by precinct must also be obtained. These should be taken from the official tally sheets kept by the municipality. While local newspaper articles might also report the results, such figures must be viewed as preliminary. Voting on different kinds of referendums (sewer bonds, school bonds, library bonds, etc.), might be examined for the city over a period of time. If the library bond issue was voted on at the same time as other issues, as in a general or primary election, for example, the relationships between the vote on the library issue and the other issues can be examined.

In the study reported in the following chapters, the case-study approach outlined above was used to describe the events in three Illinois cities which held library elections. The earliest vote had occurred four years, and the latest six months, before the present study was begun, so it was deemed inadvisable to try to undertake an opinion survey of people who lived in the communities. All three libraries are located in major cities in the same state and were faced with a similar problem: the public libraries were housed in obsolete buildings which needed either substantial remodeling or replacement so that the communities could be provided with improved library service. The cities examined in this report are Champaign, Peoria, and Quincy, Illinois.

Before describing the events which took place in each of the three cities and then drawing parallels between them, the methods used in gathering information should be described in somewhat greater detail.

An interview schedule was drawn up after a review of the pertinent literature dealing with library bond issues and with voting behavior in local elections. Examination of local newspapers issued in the three cities during the period immediately before the referendum, and preliminary discussions with the librarians in each community, helped establish lists of people who were most likely to have useful information about the library elections. The librarian, board members, lay persons active in the campaign, and opponents of the issue were included. Similar questions were asked of each interviewee to help the investigators see the individual's perspective on events. Questions asked were of the open-end variety in order to advance the investigators' insight into the situation and the interviewee's relationship to it.

Material obtained from the interviews was supplemented by information obtained from printed and manuscript sources. Local newspapers for the months preceding the election were examined, not only to gather background information and names of people who were active in the library campaign but also to determine the kinds of information printed about the library. Such information ranged from feature articles on the library, its problems, or its employees through news articles, advertising, editorials, editorial cartoons, and letters to the editor.

By using some of the methods outlined here, the practitioner who is interested in studying his own local election can gain a better insight into the forces which operate during a particular election campaign. Of course such a study should also draw on relevant literature to provide a theoretical framework within which to conduct the investigation.[9]

References to Chapter I

[1] This distinction is pointed out by various people. See Alvin Boskoff and Harmon Zeigler, Voting Patterns in a Local Election (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964), p. 38, and Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 46-47. Garrison refers to this matter of a voter being faced by a policy decision with regard to public libraries in his "Voting on a Library Bond Issue: Two Elections in Akron, Ohio, 1961 and 1962," Library Quarterly, 33 (July, 1963), 229.

[2] Examples of such studies are cited in Guy Garrison, "Library Elections: A Selected Bibliography," Illinois Libraries, 45 (September, 1963), 377-378 and 382.

[3] The panel study has been described in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (eds.), The Language of Social Research (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 204, which also provides examples of panel studies, pp. 242-259.

[4] The results of the 1940 study were reported in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944). A second edition was published in 1948. Results of the replication in the 1948 election were reported in Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

[5] The results of this study are reported in R. V. Smith, et al., Community Organization and Support of the Schools ("Cooperative Research Project" No. 1828; Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1964).

[6] Cameron Fincher, Atlanta Studies its Bond Issue ("Research Paper" No. 25; Atlanta: Georgia State College, School of Business Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1963).

[7] Guy Garrison, Seattle Voters and Their Public Library ("Research Series," No. 2; Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Library, 1961), and his "Voting on a Library Bond Issue."

[8] Dorothy Black, "Recent Materials Useful for a Community Study," Illinois Libraries, 49 (April, 1967), 272-284.

[9] For a person who is interested in library elections, in particular, Garrison's survey of the literature is a good place to begin. Guy Garrison, "Library Elections: A Selected Bibliography," Illinois Libraries, 45 (September, 1963), 375-384. A supplement to this review is currently being prepared at the Library Research Center, University of Illinois.

CHAPTER II

THE CHAMPAIGN ELECTION

The City

The city of Champaign is located approximately in the center of Champaign County, an area incorporating 1,000 square miles of flat, fertile farm land. Champaign and its sister city, Urbana, form a trading center for all or parts of eight prosperous agricultural counties.

The presence in the Champaign-Urbana community of the University of Illinois greatly affects the character of Champaign.[1] A large portion of the population is engaged in service occupations and there is a high percentage of professional persons. The major occupational groupings for men are, in descending order: professional, craftsmen, service workers, and managers. For employed women the three major groups are clerical, service workers, and professional. Only 8.5 percent of the labor force is engaged in manufacturing, with 20.4 percent in retail and wholesale. "White collar" workers make up 57.9 percent of the labor force. The percentage of women in the labor force is 40.8.

The 1960 population of Champaign was 49,583. There had been a population increase between 1950 and 1960 of 25.3 percent and the growth rate in the current decade is just as high. The median age is 23.9 years, considerably below the national average, due to the presence of the University. The median number of school years completed for persons over 25 is 12.4, and 60.3 percent of the population have completed high school or better. The total foreign stock in the community is 11.6 percent, with 9.9 percent of the population non-white.

In 1960 the median income for the community was $6,531, with 13.4 percent of the families having incomes under $3,000 and 20.9 percent having incomes over $10,000. The urban character of the city is shown by an average population per square mile of 7,628, a figure indicating fairly high density.

The Library

The Champaign Public Library has a long history, going back to its founding as an association library in 1868. It became a public library in 1876 when the city council voted to accept the gift of the Champaign Library Association. The present building, financed by a private gift, was opened in 1896.[2] The library has no branches but does operate a bookmobile.

While rooms have been renovated and functional areas shifted about the building, there has been no major remodeling of the original building. During the 1930's double-deck stacks were installed and, at the same time, steel beams were put in the basement in an effort to accommodate growth. At various times the library has had new lighting installed.

The library is governed by a board of trustees appointed by the mayor for three-year terms. The present tax-levy rate is .0704, the legal limit in Illinois being .12 without referendum approval. In all the years of the library's operation there have been no library elections for any purpose, either for raising the tax rate or for building purposes, until the June, 1967, election.

Preliminary Decisions

In the mid-1950's the need for an expansion of library facilities in Champaign became evident to the board. Several possible architectural plans for expansion of the library were prepared for the library board in 1956 by Simon-Rettberg, Champaign architects. A present member of the board says that the reason nothing more was done at that time was probably because the board was never really satisfied with the plans for the addition. Also in 1956 the board hired Harold Lancour and C. Walter Stone, of the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science, to do a community opinion survey. They used questionnaires sent to library users and registered borrowers, as well as a telephone survey of nonusers and interviews with community leaders. Lancour and Stone presented their "Survey of Community Opinion and Recommendations for Future Development" to the library board on February 1, 1957. The survey conclusions were critical of the level of library service in Champaign and aroused resentment on the part of some of the board members and a former librarian.

The present librarian began work in March, 1962. In February, 1963, the board voted to set up a Building Improvements Fund and to place in it any unused monies at the end of each year. In July the president recommended that the entire board meet with the city council to explain their plans and to urge the council to grant an increased levy for the Building Improvements Fund. This joint meeting was held and the library board used one version of the Simon-Rettberg plans as the legally necessary presentation of plans to secure this additional annual levy. Neither the librarian nor the board had any real expectation of using this plan as a basis for construction, since it called for extensive remodeling of the present building and the construction of a stack area as an addition to the building.[3]

In September, 1963, the board was informed by the city manager that the city would establish a levy ordinance which would provide $16,000 for the Building Improvements Fund to be collected in 1964 and it was the intention of the council to continue such a levy each year. The library still has most of this levy. Some money from this fund was spent for the architect's and consultant's fees during the election campaign. The fund now stands at $70,000.

Three new board members had been appointed in 1962, and they did a great deal to cause more rapid progress toward some sort of solution to the library's space needs. For one thing, the board began to meet every month and for longer sessions. The duties of the board became more clearly defined.

In February, 1964, the construction title was added to the Library Services Act and the board informed the State Library of their interest in building and asked to be informed as soon as it was possible to apply for state financial assistance.

The Long-Range Planning Committee of the board, which had been formed in 1963, reported in October, 1964, that plans had been discussed for future expansion of the library. The possible means and methods of increasing library service, such as bookmobiles, branch libraries, and acquiring land for future additions or a new building, were mentioned.

At the November board meeting, "Dr. Kulwin reported on a meeting of the Long-Range Planning Committee. . . . The recommendations of the committee were threefold: (1) that the library board seek the advice of a surveyor in planning, (2) that a member of the committee be authorized to discuss the method of acquiring more land with the city attorney, and (3) that the committee be given permission to discuss with the owner of the properties west of the library the possibility of future acquisition by the library."[4] The librarian suggested that Joseph L. Wheeler be approached to see if he would undertake the survey.

A member of the Long-Range Planning Committee recalls that there were still board members who thought that the library should not give up the present building; therefore it was the consensus of the committee that although they favored an entirely new building, they should not make such a recommendation until they had a sound basis for it.

At the December board meeting a letter was read from Wheeler concerning the type of survey he was prepared to do.

The suggestion was also made that the board include in the next budget a request for money for the acquisition of land.

In January the board hired Wheeler and set a request of $32,000 for the building fund. A committee had met with the city manager to explain their plans to date and to state that the best course of action seemed to be to acquire options on properties to the west of the library.

Joseph L. Wheeler presented his study to the board in March, 1965. Although he did include a plan for adding to the existing building, he characterized such an approach as money spent "for an inadequate sized, inefficiently arranged, unsatisfactory project, attempted in the name of economy. No one would be satisfied nor happy. It would be a matter always of explaining and apologizing."[5]

Wheeler went into great detail on present trends in library service and building requirements and used existing standards to show that in order to meet minimum needs for floor space the library would be forced to build on another site. He recommended a site as close to the center of town as possible, stating that the most desirable spot would be on the edge of a downtown park. Failing that, he recommended a site on the main street itself. Wheeler's forceful arguments for a new library building on a new site convinced the board that this was the best course of action.

More than a year elapsed before an architect was retained. During this time the planning committee continued to meet regularly. The board also engaged legal counsel to investigate the deed of gift from the Burnham family, donors of the original building, in order to clarify the library's position with regard to a possible move.

The Building Program

October, 1965, saw the adoption by the board of a proposed "program for building and services" as a basis for exploration of means of implementing the goals. The next month a site committee was formed. As the first step in a building campaign the board felt that a building consultant should be hired; accordingly in January, 1966, Lester Stoffel of Oak Park was retained as consultant.

At the next board meeting Stoffel discussed the building plans and the next steps: (1) a refinement of the written program and (2) the selection of an architect to study the old building and its use and to help with the site selection.

By July the board had commissioned Richardson, Severns, Scheeler, and Associates, and they started drawing plans.

Revisions were made in the program for library services and building. More square footage had to be added for population growth and for anticipated inclusion of the Lincoln Trail Libraries System headquarters. It soon became apparent that no site so far considered would be large enough.

Before a final decision could be made on the amount of financing needed, the Lincoln Trail Libraries system had to be persuaded to come into the proposed building. It had just been formally constituted in January, 1966, and the librarian appointed in August. At the first meeting of the system board at which he was present, the proposal to combine the system headquarters and the new Champaign Public Library was dropped like a bombshell, or so it apparently appeared to the other members of the system board. The meeting was stormy, but a committee was set up to study the proposal and make a recommendation on the matter to the board as a whole.

The objections raised by the system board members are hard to assess realistically as they had deep emotional overtones. For one thing, they felt that the system would lose its autonomy and distinctiveness. Also they suspected that Champaign would get all the benefit of the system if it were housed in the library. The system director and those in favor of the move tried to convince the other board members of the duplication involved in housing the headquarters separately. Shared storage, conference rooms, office space, staff, and reference service were considered.

After a great deal of discussion, the board passed a conditional acceptance subject to the details being worked out satisfactorily. They appointed a committee to work with the Champaign board.

When the board and the librarian heard that a site near downtown might be available it seemed to be the answer to all of their problems. The park board had rejected Mr. Wheeler's proposal for a library in Westside Park. Other sites offered to them did not meet the downtown location criteria, and those sites which were on the main street were too small to meet the minimum square footage needs. In March, 1967, the library got options on four lots on University Avenue near the downtown area and two blocks from the present library.

In April the Champaign Public Library presented its application for federal funds to the LSCA Title II subcommittee of the Illinois State Library. The application was approved contingent on satisfactory plans for the building and on site acquisition.

The board had already met with the city council in January, 1967, in a study session to present their plans for the new building preparatory to a request to hold a bond issue referendum. At first the board and librarian were undecided about the wisdom of attempting to hold the bond referendum at the same time as the city election in April, because they had been warned against general elections by other librarians and board and because the city election showed signs of developing into a bitter contest. The matter was settled for them by the late date at which the Lincoln Trail Libraries decided to come in with them and by the date of their application for Title II funds. The board did not wish to go to the voters during May because tax bills are received then. They felt that many potential supporters connected with the University would be out of town if they waited till too late in the summer. Finally June 3 was set as the date.

The amount to be authorized by the voters was $1,960,000. The Champaign Library would have received $400,000 from LSCA, and $100,000 from the Lincoln Trail Libraries System toward construction costs. The issue that appeared on the election ballot read:

> Shall bonds in the amount of $1,960,000 be issued by the city of Champaign, Champaign County, Illinois, for the purpose of paying a portion of the cost of constructing and equipping a new library building and acquiring a site therefor, said bonds to mature serially as follows: $100,000 in 1969; $125,000 in each of the years 1970 to 1974 inclusive; $120,000 in 1975; $115,000 in 1976; and $100,000 in each of the years 1977 to 1986 inclusive, and bear interest from date at the rate of not to exceed four and one-half percent (4 1/2%) per annum?

The Campaign

For some time the librarian and the board members had been studying bond issue campaigns in other cities. They had talked to people at state and area meetings. Literature and flyers from other libraries were examined and passed around at board meetings. The building consultant also advised them about campaign methods. When the date was set, a publicity committee of board members was set up to handle newspaper, radio, and television coverage. Fact sheets were prepared and sent out to the local news media.

The advice given the library board had been unanimous in suggesting that they concentrate the campaign in the last two weeks before the referendum date. Due to the meeting dates of organizations this was stretched out somewhat. A ten-minute speech was worked up to be used by the board members and the librarian. During the last couple of weeks, the librarian alone often made as many as four talks in one day.

Given the month chosen for the campaign, it was difficult to use the PTA groups, traditionally a good avenue for reaching parents. Most of them, if they met at all in May, had picnics or social evenings for their final meetings.

The Friends of the Library organized coffees, and the librarian herself spoke at 17 of these. The Friends also did mailing and telephoning as needed. A mailing list was compiled, consisting of 1,200 "good patrons," a selected list of University staff members living in Champaign, the Republican women's list, PTA rosters, and a selective Democratic list. Twenty-six hundred pieces were mailed. At the coffees, people were urged to send postcards for the library to their friends and 1,000 were used.

As the campaign progressed the first signs of opposition began to appear. On the 31st of May flyers expressing opposition to the bond issue were received in Champaign. They were also against the mental health issue, a referendum that followed the library's by two days. The flyers were anonymous, of course, but did carry a post office box number. A member of the library board was able to determine that the box was rented by a local real estate agent who had been campaign manager for an ultra-conservative, newly-elected member of the city council. The flyers were widely distributed with large mailing lists evidently gleaned from many sources. Several library board members received them. The same flyers were given out at one downtown restaurant.

On election day volunteers did some telephoning for the library. Some of these people had lists, such as the parochial school parents, PTA's, and club membership lists. There were cars available for rides to the polls, but they were not used by the voters.

On the Saturday of the referendum there was an anonymous telephone campaign against the library bond issue. The caller would say something like: "Did you get your tax bill? Did it go up? If you don't want it to go up again, go down and vote against the library." The caller would then hang up.

The Election

Of 4,662 votes cast in the referendum, there were 3,450 "no" votes, 1,128 "yes" votes and 44 spoiled ballots.[6] The library won in only one precinct, and tied in one, both in the northeast Negro neighborhood. It was defeated everywhere else, but most soundly in lower middle class, "blue-collar" areas. After the two best precincts, the ones more favorable to the library were in areas of fairly high income with a high percentage of professional and university people.

The least favorable precincts tended to have about an average turnout of voters, while those precincts most favorable tended to have either a very high or very low level of voter turnout.

The defeat was a horrible experience for all concerned. For a time those directly involved in the campaign found it hard to discuss the defeat and painful to think about future plans. Some of the board members were enthusiastic about pressing on as soon as possible for a second election and some were not. The Lincoln Trail Libraries system, hard-pressed for space, has since decided to proceed with its own separate building.

References to Chapter II

[1] Population characteristics taken from U.S. Census Bureau, Population Characteristics, Illinois; 1960 or U.S. Census Bureau, County and City Date Book, 1967.

[2] The History of the Champaign Public Library and Reading Room, by Edwin A. Kratz, 1926, gives a detailed history of the library.

[3] Interview with Mrs. Kathryn Gesterfield.

[4] Champaign Public Library Board, Minutes, November, 1964.

[5] Joseph L. Wheeler, Public Library Building Project at Champaign. Manuscript, p. 12.

[6] See Table 3.

CHAPTER III

THE QUINCY ELECTION

The City

Situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River, Quincy, Illinois, is a county seat and the largest city within a radius of 100 miles. Since its founding early in the 19th century, the city has expanded eastward away from the river. A public square, the center of the original city, is now located between the river and the major part of the business district.

Quincy serves as the retail trading center for a population of some 200,000. The city includes a number of manufacturing firms. This emphasis on manufacturing and retail trade is reflected in the major occupational groups of Quincy residents. For men, these groups are operatives, craftsmen, managers, and sales workers. The major occupational groups for women are clerical, operatives, and service.

As the only large city within a 100-mile radius, Quincy is somewhat isolated. Although it is served by railroads, highways, bus lines, and an airline, the city is not on a major artery for passenger traffic. It has grown in recent decades but not as rapidly as many other communities of its size in Illinois. Quincy included roughly 45,000 people at the time of the library election. The population tends to be slightly older than that of the other two communities studied. A rather high percentage of its population consists of people who are 65 or older.

The local newspaper traces its history back to the early days of the city. There are two radio stations, each affiliated with a national network. Programs from the three national television networks are supplied to Quincy by two local television stations.

Parks in the city and county provide a wide range of recreation facilities. The community also maintains a symphony orchestra, little theater, and an art center. The city-county historical society is housed in a mansion built by an early settler. Its hospitals and clinics make the city an important medical center for its area.

The progressive public school system is part of an educational milieu which also includes a number of parochial schools.

A business school, several trade schools, and a coeducational liberal arts college are located in the city.

The Library

The public library, founded during the late 19th century, is located on the southwest corner of the public square. The library's corner entrance opens onto an intersection passed by many vehicles each day. Hotels occupy the other corners of this busy intersection.

Completed in 1889, the public library building was designed to hold some 20,000 volumes, a figure which was exceeded before 1900. To meet its need for space, the library constructed an addition during the late 1920's and installed additional stacks early in World War II. In the postwar decades the library's circulation, collection, and number of borrowers continued to grow, and space became increasingly more difficult to find. Indeed, only 60 percent of the square footage in the building is usable for library purposes; the remainder consists of monumental features common in libraries of the period.

Preliminary Decisions

During the 1960's, the need for space became so great that audio-visual services were housed in a boiler room, and most periodical back files were stored in another part of the basement. In 1963, three years before the bond issue election, the library board took a step toward alleviating its space shortage by acquiring the building adjoining the library on the west. This building was demolished later. By the end of 1963, a consultant had been retained to guide the library's growth. The librarian, with the assistance of board members (one of whom is also a librarian) prepared a building program. This program was completed and sent to the consultant for his comments early in 1964.

Selection of a site was not difficult since those involved favored enlarging the present site and erecting a new building there, or else remodeling the existing 1889 structure. Perhaps something can be said for the corner which has been the "library corner" as far back as most people could remember. Since the land was already owned by the city, site costs would not be as high as if a new location closer to the business district were chosen. The library was able to obtain an option on a second piece of adjoining property, thus making its potential site include one-quarter of the city block. The site is on the same block as a municipal parking lot, and the plans included on-site parking for library patrons.

By the middle of 1964 the library had selected a local architect who was proceeding to develop plans for a building on the enlarged site. Before deciding to construct a new library, the board asked its architect to investigate the possibility of remodeling the old building. With fire exits far below safety standards, inadequate plumbing, and the erratic placement of interior load-bearing walls, the cost of remodeling would have been prohibitive.

In addition to its building consultant and architect, the board utilized the services of other types of experts. Consultants on the staff of the Illinois State Library met with the librarian and board to discuss methods of financing the construction. The librarian corresponded with other librarians to seek advice. The advice of the planning firm which had prepared the city plan was also sought. The firm recommended several locations and urged that a new library be part of a cultural center.

The city had been chosen as the site for a study of the community image of the public library, sponsored by the American Library Association. This study, completed about two years before the bond issue referendum, provided another judgment that the library was suffering from inadequate quarters. The study concluded that the library was well thought of by the community.[1]

By late 1965, about a year before the referendum, the board had decided to seek voter approval to issue bonds for financing the new building. Several alternatives were open for financing, including the accumulation of funds, raising the tax levy, securing some money from the library system and some from gifts or grants. The Great River Library System, of which Quincy is a part, was not very well developed at this time. Although the system and the library might jointly occupy the new building, construction money provided by the system would be likely to pay for its share of the new facility, and no more. Even though Quincy's largest industries are absentee-owned, several important firms are locally owned. There is a fairly wealthy group of local citizens who are interested in improving the quality of life in the city. These families were not asked to contribute to the library building fund, since the board felt the library, as a municipal service, should be financed primarily from tax funds. During the bond issue campaign, and after opposition developed, the board pointed out that gifts would be welcome and some had been received. The board sought and received approval for a Federal grant under LSCA to finance part of the construction cost. Although the library was required to place the full amount of the cost on the ballot ($1,330,000), the actual cost to taxpayers would have been less because of the private gifts and the Federal grant.

The Campaign

Having decided to build a new library on the present enlarged site, the board and librarian next began to develop plans for the election and the campaign which would precede it. They drew upon the advice of their building consultant, a consultant from the state library, the experience of other librarians in the state, and publications prepared by the American Library Association in addition to advice sought from local citizens. A local attorney was also retained to represent the library.

The referendum was scheduled for the November, 1966, general election, in part because the board felt that the higher turnout, even in a non-presidential year, would give the greatest number of citizens a chance to express an opinion on the issue. Also, the library would not be accused of selecting an inconvenient date--a charge more easily levelled at a special election. The board also felt that a regularly scheduled election was preferable to a special election since the cost to the library, and hence to the taxpayers, would be less. Ballots had to be printed in either case, but the library would not have to pay election judges or rent polling places if it participated in a regularly scheduled election. By selecting the November date, however, the library was faced with the necessity of competing for attention with issues of state and national interest. Such would not have been the case had the library participated in a city election, in which the issues under consideration would have been more clearly of local interest.

The library board also sought approval of the city council for the referendum. Meeting with the board at least once in the old library, the council granted approval to hold the bond issue referendum, leaving slightly over eight months for the library to organize and conduct its campaign. These meetings between the council and board, and the council's action, were reported by the local newspaper, but no program had been launched by the library to explain its need for modernized and expanded facilities to the city as a whole.

While preparing its presentation to the city council the library had begun to discuss the general outlines of its campaign and to contact people who might work for the library referendum. The library retained a local person, part-time, who developed the information to be presented to the council. This factual information was then used as the basis for the library's appeal later. The board was also searching for someone to head the campaign committee. In late March, a "Dutch-treat" luncheon was held to which people who might work on the campaign were invited.

Preparation for the referendum continued during the spring of 1966, with two men being chosen in June as co-chairmen for the campaign. These men were willing to take complete responsibility for the conduct of the campaign and its outcome. They were not inexperienced in such matters, having worked together on a successful bond issue campaign several years earlier.

During the summer the board became somewhat uneasy since the co-chairmen did not appear to be doing anything. The co-chairmen were, however, talking about the proposed issue with a variety of local citizens. As a result of this informal survey of local opinion leaders, the co-chairmen concluded that the library referendum was not likely to succeed in November. Meeting with the library board shortly before Labor Day, they explained their view. At this point the board could have decided to wait until the following year, when either of two elections focusing more specifically on local issues were scheduled. The Federal grant would have been available through these dates. After the board discussed alternatives and decided to go ahead with the November date, the co-chairmen resigned. Since their names had not been made public, they remained quiet during the ten weeks left before the election.

Left without its lay chairmen, the board itself assumed responsibility for conducting the campaign, aided by other local people who had already been recruited. An executive secretary was selected to serve as head of the campaign. She resigned because of illness and was replaced, less than a month before the election, by a very dynamic woman. Decisions on campaign strategy were made by a steering committee made up of board members and the committee chairmen.

The Quincy library did not retain a consultant to advise them specifically on the campaign. The library made use of the advice and counsel of many of the same people who had helped in developing the building program. The board also made use of the political knowledge and expertise of its members, who included a member of the city council and a school administrator skilled in public relations work who had worked closely with successful campaigns for school bond issues.

By mid-September the steering committee was organized and the campaign had begun in earnest. Various techniques were used to explain why the library was seeking approval of a bond issue. A brochure was prepared and printed for wide distribution. Other leaflets were mimeographed, and letters were sent to library borrowers. Workers were recruited to carry brochures from house to house urging a favorable vote whenever they could talk to a householder. Posters were printed, and a poster contest, featuring "the bulging library," was conducted among school children.

The endorsements committee sent letters to organizations urging them to support the bond issue by endorsing the idea of a new library. Names of organizations which endorsed the issue were published shortly before the election. The mimeographed, seven-page fact sheet was also distributed to organizations and groups. Churches and other organizations were asked to mention the library issue in publications to their members.

While the door-to-door campaign was designed to cover the entire city, another committee was arranging speakers to talk to local groups and tell the library's story. In addition to board members and other citizens, the speaker's bureau received help from members of a men's service group at the college. These students enthusiastically prepared and rehearsed their speeches.

An open house was held in the library to show citizens the inadequacies of the building. About 50 people attended.

Library supporters also publicized the referendum through local media. The newspaper carried pictures and descriptions of crowded conditions, in addition to reporting the names of groups which had endorsed the library issue. As opposition developed, the paper printed letters to the editor on both sides of the controversy while editorially endorsing the referendum and urging its passage. Television and radio stations were supplied with spot announcements urging a favorable vote. However, when a prominent citizen, long active in Quincy's cultural life, took a public stand against the referendum and the issue became controversial, the library was handicapped because its publicity program depended on free use of public service time on radio and television. After controversy developed, the stations were less willing to permit one side of the issue to be aired without giving the other side equal time without charge.

During the last week of the campaign, one day was set aside for coffee hours, held in various areas of the city, at which the referendum could be discussed. The chronic problem of obtaining enough volunteers meant that coffees were not held on each block as originally planned.

Such a campaign requires the work of a great many people and involves some money. The Quincy library took pains to point out that tax funds were not being spent on the campaign. The money that was spent was donated to the library for that purpose. A full-page newspaper advertisement printed the Sunday before election day was paid for by such a contribution. Library supporters relied primarily on donated services.

The library forces directed their appeal, focused primarily during the two months before election day, to the entire city. Their appeal was based on the inadequacy of the present building and on the distinctive color of the special library ballot. The bond issue was proposed as the least expensive way of providing adequate facilities for the library and thus bringing a greater degree of "progress" to the city.

The major public opponent of the library referendum based his opposition on the value of the existing building, not necessarily as a public library, and the fact that the board had not tried to obtain gifts from private sources to finance part of the new building. His objections included the lack of consultation of experts in city planning and beautification and also suggested that the community had not been given an adequate chance to discuss the issue. The concern of this prominent citizen had been reported to the board as early as March, 1966, so that his opposition could not have been a complete surprise. The public became aware of it through newspaper reports or a handbill delivered door-to-door late in September. The opponent also wrote the library board in September, saying that he would publicly oppose the referendum, and describing the reasons behind his opposition. While he felt Quincy needed a new library, his serious reservations about the board's proposal led him to a position of public opposition. The board met with him in October to discuss their differences, but by that time the opponent's objections were public knowledge.

The public opposition of this important man served as a catalyst for others to voice their objections. While those opposing the library referendum were not an organized group, they made their opposition known through the "letters to the editor" column of the newspaper. Presumably they also talked to friends and co-workers, urging them to vote against the library referendum.

By asking to see plans for the new library, the opposition persuaded the pro-library group to display a model. The interior arrangements of the proposed building were then criticized.

A discussion of the referendum appeared on local television a few days before the election. Two opponents discussed their objections, and two library board members urged passage of the issue. Each side was taped separately with the other side not knowing what was being said.

Using the arguments advanced by the opposition, a voter could cast a negative ballot on the library referendum, feeling that he was voting in favor of greater discussion of the issue but not really voting against the library. He might well have sifted the evidence and concluded that while the library needed a new building, the proposition, as presented, could be improved.

The Election

On election day Quincy voters went to the polls to cast ballots on a variety of state and local issues. The statewide races involved three offices: U.S. Senator, State Treasurer, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Other races of more than local importance included those for Congressman, State Senator, State Representative, Trustee of the State University, Circuit Court Judge and Associate Judge, plus four county offices: Clerk, Treasurer, Sheriff, and Superintendent of Schools.

In this general election, races and issues which were not primarily Quincy-oriented formed the greater part. Five special ballots were also to be voted on. These included three of more than county-wide interest, one of county-wide interest, and the library bond referendum, of city-wide interest only. All of these special ballots failed in Quincy.

With the large number of candidates being voted on, in addition to five special issues, the library had heard that the election judges were unhappy about the monumental job of counting the votes. Several days before the election the library board wrote to the judges explaining the purpose of the orange ballot and expressing their thanks to the judges for taking on this extra task.

On election day the board's attorney was asked to investigate two precincts in which there was a question about the manner in which the election judges were handing out the ballots. No legal action resulted.

Quincy voters defeated the library bond referendum by a substantial margin. The Official Proceedings of the city council reported 9,332 votes against the bonds and 5,791 votes for them. Expressed as percentages of the total vote, 55.7 percent voted against the bonds and 34.6 percent voted in favor; 9.7 percent of the ballots were excluded. The excluded ballots include those which were spoiled or invalid as well as all those from one precinct in which the judges merely totalled the ballots, not dividing them into "yes" and "no." The referendum passed in seven out of the city's 48 precincts.

Interviewees agreed that five of the seven favorable precincts were inhabited primarily by "white-collar" groups, including many who had attended college. One of the remaining favorable precincts included the area around the library. This is an old section of the downtown district, inhabited primarily, the interviewees said, by older, retired people who lived in small apartments or in residential hotels. The remaining favorable precinct is divided into two distinct parts. One of these comprises the residents of an old people's home for men, and the second part is an area of new houses occupied by a mixture of "white-collar" and working-class families. Although this description does not meet rigorous tests of validity, it suggests that the Quincy election does not disprove the hypothesis that residents of areas inhabited by "white-collar" or professional people tend to vote in favor of library bond issues. It can be argued that the people living near the library would naturally favor a new building that would improve the area and be easier for them to use. The men in the old people's home could also have been motivated by a similar willingness to favor civic progress.

Aftermath

After the defeat, following up on one of the criticisms levelled by the opposition, the library board scheduled a public meeting to discuss the next step. While the consensus of the meeting was that the library needed a new building, there was a great deal of disagreement about possible sites.

Early in 1967, three groups of citizens were formed to examine various aspects of the problem. One studied the election and the reasons for the library's defeat. A second considered means for financing a new library. The third considered sites for the new building. These groups presented reports which the library board discussed during the summer and fall of 1967.

The board began searching for alternative sites, using the recommendations given by its citizens' committee. Members of the board also prepared to seek money from local foundations. A Friends of the Library group was also established during the summer following the bond issue defeat. The board, with the need for modernized library facilities still unmet, was also considering a second referendum.

References to Chapter III

[1] George Fry Associates, "Community Image of the Free Public Library, Quincy, Illinois," unpublished report dated October 29, 1964.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEORIA ELECTION

The City

As the center of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Peoria serves as a major wholesale market and retail shopping center in Illinois. Peoria is one of the largest cash corn markets in the nation, with annual estimated receipts of 34 million dollars. Soybean, wheat, and livestock receipts are all large. At the same time, Peoria has a healthy industrial base with a long list of manufactured products. There are six radio stations and three television stations in the Peoria area. Bradley University is in the central city, and a U.S. Regional Research Laboratory is also located there.

Population in Peoria decreased in the decade 1950 to 1960 by 7.8 percent. An estimate of population for January 1, 1968, is 136,000, an increase of 31 percent. About 10 percent of the population is Negro. The median age is higher than Champaign, at 31.9 years, and the median number of school years for persons over 25 is less--10.5 years. Only 40 percent of the population have completed high school. Forty-four percent of the labor force are in "white-collar" positions, with 32 percent in manufacturing and 21.3 percent in retail and wholesale jobs.

After a long history of apathy, Peoria is now moving ahead with many interrelated civic projects. The downtown area is being revitalized--Sears, Roebuck has developed two square blocks for a store and underground parking, the Caterpillar Tractor Company has built a high-rise administrative building downtown, and a new county courthouse was occupied in 1964. School bond issues, once sure to be defeated, have been passed in recent years. Annexation has brought developing suburban areas into the city, thus strengthening the tax base.

The Library

Library history in Peoria began when quarreling religious factions each started a library. When the disagreement was settled in 1856, they merged and in 1880 donated their collection and leased their quarters to the Free Public Library. Later the Peoria Mercantile Library sold its property and donated the proceeds to build a public library. The city bought the land, and the building was opened in 1897, with school board offices on the first floor and art and science societies on the third. As the library expanded no extensive remodeling or stack units were required.

The first branch building was built, with Carnegie funds, in 1911. Another branch was added in 1926, and since 1940 four more branches have been established. By 1960 the combined circulation of the branches was more than twice that of the downtown library. All of the branches were constructed without issuing bonds. In 1947 the library acquired a garage next to the main library to house the audio-visual materials.

Preliminary Decisions

By the mid-50's the library building was clearly inadequate. Bookstacks were jammed; there was insufficient seating space, little work space, poor toilet facilities, and eleven different floor levels. The building required more maintenance every year and had reached a point where several major jobs, such as a new roof and new heating plant, were needed at once.

Added to the deteriorating physical condition and the limitations it placed on service was the increased pressure of use, particularly by students. The library had been built when the population of Peoria was 41,000; by 1960 it was 103,000.

The present librarian was hired in 1955 and charged specifically by the board with the task of tackling the building problem. Before a decision was made on a course of action, the board asked Ralph Ulveling and Charles Mohrhardt to help them decide whether to remodel, build an addition, or build a new building. After receiving all the information, the consultants responded that the condition of the foundation and supporting walls and the position of the interior stairs made remodeling impossible. They recommended a new building and said that if an addition was put up, it should be with the idea of moving into it and tearing down the old building before erecting the second half. The necessity of a new building was so immediately apparent to them that they even refused a fee for their advice.

Formal commitment to a new main library came with the approval by the city council of a long-range plan by the city's planning department on June 29, 1959. The architect was engaged a year later. After he was hired there was a long search for a site. The librarian felt that the present site was acceptable, but he wished to avoid the problem of moving twice and also felt that there might be a better location available. Over a period of time at least five different locations were seriously considered, but in each instance the board found that other groups had major projects planned for the sites. The remaining space in the courthouse square was too small and the county supervisors did not want the library there in any case. By this time the tremendous redevelopment of the downtown area had improved the present site as a location, so in October, 1963, the board decided to use it with some additional lots.

The library board did look for alternative means of financing the building. The board tried to see if a library could be built under the Public Building Commission Law. No specific reference to public libraries had been made in the law, and it seemed that this might have been just an oversight. Local and area legislators were ready to introduce an amendment, but other members of the state legislature advised against it, so the project was dropped.

Under Illinois law it is permissible to set aside revenue earmarked for capital improvements, but the library could not accumulate enough funds in a reasonable length of time to make it possible to erect a building by this method. The Illinois Valley Library System, for which Peoria is headquarters, was not in existence then, so any contribution to the building fund from this source was impossible. Establishment of the system was anticipated, however, so the building was planned to meet its future needs.

The decision to apply for LSCA Title II money to help with building costs was not unanimous by the board. There was a feeling that there might be public aversion to the use of federal funds, and the fact that the library would have a grant of $400,000 was not played up in the campaign.

The Campaign

Once the board had decided that a bond issue was necessary for the new building, they resolved that they were going to keep on until it was achieved, and if the first attempt was defeated they would try again. They did feel that the need was urgent enough and the facts clear enough that if they waged a thorough, informative campaign they would have a good chance of winning on the first ballot. Though the library did have to conduct a second campaign, they came within 16 votes of a victory the first time.

The librarian and the board thought that the library would do better in a general election when they would reach more voters. No one favored using a special election, and some felt that voters are inclined to be wary of such elections. In December, 1963, the board voted to ask the city council to place the issue on the April ballot. The attempt for a high turnout was to be coupled with a comprehensive, informational campaign aimed at reaching all segments of the community. Thorough public relations and publicity were considered to be integral parts of the campaign.

The actual conduct of the first campaign was left largely to the librarian and assistant librarian. The assistant librarian was made a voting member of the building committee. The staff was informed that there would be a number of committees and that every staff member would be expected to serve on one. A staff meeting was scheduled, at which the librarian spoke on the need for a new building and the assistant librarian described the plan for the drive and gave out committee assignments. Staff members were asked to suggest names for the formation of a citizens' committee consisting of friends of the library willing to give time and talent to the drive. Staff members did mailing tasks, conducted tours of the library, and attempted to influence voters on their own initiative.

A building consultant was not retained to help in the campaign, but the board did hire an advertising firm. The administration and staff of the firm donated hundreds of man-hours to the library, and the library was charged only for actual costs. They helped plan and create brochures and spot announcements for television and radio, and set up schedules for publicity. One of the vice-presidents of the advertising agency became so interested in the public relations program of the library that he offered to assist it, without commission, on a continuing basis. The librarian requested publicity scrapbooks from several libraries and had copies of materials to work from.

The total political expertise involved at a high level in the Peoria referendum campaign was formidable. The president of the board was active in the local Republican party leadership. A state senator was on the board along with two lawyers. The former city manager and a major labor leader worked together as committee heads. The local power structure in Peoria centers around one man, the head of a large bank, and one of his vice-presidents was on the library board.

The library in Peoria works closely with the local government. The librarian has breakfast once a week with the other city department heads, the mayor and the city manager. This gives them a chance to compare notes, and it helps to have the others realize that the library administration faces many of the same problems that they do. It establishes the librarian as a member of the governing clique and keeps him informed of the political climate. The librarian and his assistant are also active members of civic service clubs.

The first thing the library did was to invite the city council, the manager, and the mayor to inspect the building. Then the formal presentation was made to the city council for approval of the referendum date.

A special open house was held for the press and other news media representatives prior to the opening of the campaign. They were given a tour of the building and were so impressed with the library's case that from this came offers from two of the local television stations to do half-hour documentaries on the library's plight. A photographer donated his services to make photographs of the worst areas of the library for use in the brochures and other publicity.

Use of the professional advertising agency to organize and schedule publicity for the news media greatly facilitated the campaign. The news personnel appreciated the professional approach by someone who knew exactly what was wanted and how to do it and were impressed by the tour given them by the library. Consequently the library issue received editorial support from the newspaper and most of the radio and television stations.

Newspaper coverage consisted of feature articles on the library and some of the library personnel, news articles on the campaign and board actions, routine articles on new materials added to the library, film showings, and meetings. During the last phase of both campaigns the library ran large, eye-catching ads. The newspaper had an editorial and an editorial cartoon in support of the library bond issue.

Radio coverage was good also, with the library being the subject of one question-and-answer program where listeners call in. On another station they were given numerous two-minute interviews. The library was the subject of the Junior Chamber of Commerce's weekly program, and of course the library's own radio program boosted its cause.

As previously mentioned, the television coverage included two half-hour documentaries. The library had taped television "trailers" in prime time spots. They received the usual news coverage of the campaign, and editorial support.

A special library open house was also held for area labor leaders. This was well attended, and the library received editorial support from the labor newspaper. They were also endorsed by the Caterpillar Tractor Company's paper.

Flyers and brochures were used in both campaigns to a great extent, with wide distribution throughout the city. They were delivered door-to-door and placed on cars in shopping centers. In the first campaign posters and billboards were used, but they were found to be very expensive, and the second time the managers of the campaign decided to leave them out and spend the money on mass media advertising instead.

In the first campaign, 16 women worked with the mothers' clubs and the PTA's; they were responsible for speaking engagements, distribution of literature, arrangements for tours, and forming a telephone committee. Training sessions were held for the telephone committee. An estimated 30,000 telephone calls were made by the staff and the PTA calling committees. Girl Scouts lent a hand by assembling and stapling publicity materials.

The librarian and assistant librarian devoted much of their effort to speaking appearances, and a staff speakers' committee gave speeches whenever their schedules would permit. They had a standard half-hour talk and a ten-minute talk, complete with slides. Although many speeches were made to groups, formal endorsements were not sought. Such endorsements are against the national policies of many service organizations, and the librarian felt that their formal resolutions are of little actual value. The important thing was to convince the civic leaders and organization leaders of the need, and to get them on the library's side. A citizens' committee spent a lot of time organizing coffees in the first campaign.

The library staff had a committee for tours, and a standing offer was made to show anyone at any time the bad physical condition of the library, including the crumbling foundations in the basement. Well-attended open houses were held during each campaign.

The funds necessary to conduct the campaigns came from fine receipts. Costs were never totalled exactly, but the two campaigns together came to about $20,000. The librarian felt in retrospect that some money was spent unnecessarily on items from which a return was uncertain. Since the campaign was the informational, comprehensive type, aimed at the community as a whole, the library could not afford to overlook anything which might serve to reach a few more voters.

Arguments of the library backers centered on the fire hazard to life and property in the old building and its deteriorating physical condition. The crowded conditions (work space, book space, and user space), heavy student use, and limits to effective service caused by the 1897 building were also emphasized. The cost of building repair and maintenance and the pressing need for extensive repairs were pointed out.

The desirability of the present site in terms of service to business and industry, safety for users at night, and proximity to downtown and bus lines was also explained. Some attention though not a great deal of emphasis, was given to the cost, in terms of amount per taxpayer or per $100 of assessed valuation.

Although the library board had been warned to expect it, they never met any organized opposition. The library was hurt during the first campaign by a widespread rumor that some branches would be closed if the issue passed. A policy statement was prepared by the board to combat this rumor, and another was issued as an answer to questions regarding the courthouse square as a possible location for the new building. Several letters appeared in the paper opposing the library referendum because of taxes. One pointed out that books can now be bought at any corner drugstore, and that the library could cut down their expenses by getting out of the audio-visual business.

In the second campaign a small group, led by a property owner whose land would be used by the new library, conducted a verbal campaign against the issue. These opponents did not feel that a new library was not needed. They felt that it shouldn't require the whole block and that it was not necessary for the public library to provide parking.

On election day the library, through the Junior Chamber of Commerce, offered rides to the polls. Although this service was not heavily used, it did provide more publicity. In some precincts the library had poll watchers and did telephoning to get a better turnout.

The Election

The April 14, 1964, library referendum to issue $2,850,000 public library building bonds was defeated by 16 votes. Since the outcome was so close, the library petitioned for a recount, which was held in June. The library won by one vote on the recount, but then a petition was entered by others for a second recount. The objectors contended that the first recount was held too soon after the results of the election and without giving them an opportunity to present their arguments. The library lost by eight votes in the second recount; however, the matter was given to the court for a ruling on 52 ballots which were objected to by one side or the other. In December the court decision gave the library a one-vote defeat. The costs for the library's recount were paid from a solicited fund, with the three election judges donating half of their fee. The library learned one thing of value in the recount; over 200 "yes" votes had to be tossed out because the voter, with obvious intentions to vote for the library, had written "yes" in the box.

Consequently, during the second campaign the literature did not say "Vote yes for the library," but "Vote for the new downtown library."

TABLE 1

VOTE ON A LIBRARY BOND ISSUE IN PEORIA

Election	Date	For	Against
First Election (Primary)	April 14, 1964	10,450	10,466
Recount	June 8, 1964	10,472	10,471
Recount	October 8, 1964	10,473	10,481
Court Decision	December 14, 1964	10,474	10,483
Second Election (General)	April 6, 1965	20,510	17,715

The turnouts for both the 1964 primary and the 1965 general elections were high, with a mean percentage of the registered voters voting at 47.4 in the first and 61.9 in the latter. In this respect the library board had achieved its purpose in choosing a general election date. The margin of defeat in the first election was slight, and in the second election, with greater turnout, the library's share of the vote increased by four percentage points.

Of the 17 lowest turnout precincts in Peoria, 12 were in the high favorability category. Of the 17 highest turnout precincts, 16 were in the high favorability category. This would indicate that in Peoria, at least, precincts with either very high or very low turnout tended to be favorable to the library.

The Second Campaign

A few changes were made in the conduct of the second campaign. The major difference was an increased emphasis on a thorough coverage of each precinct. A forceful woman, active in civic affairs, assumed charge of the drive. The librarian gave less time to the campaign and more to the affairs of the library, while the assistant librarian worked closely with the citizens' committee. Due to the urging of the lay chairman of the second campaign the members of the board, who had left the conduct of the first campaign to others, took responsibility for the city ward organizations. Individual staff members still took an active part in the campaign.

During the second campaign, money was spent more on the mass media than some of the other methods, such as posters. Not as much time was spent talking to clubs, or to special coffee groups; it was thought that these people were already convinced. The library tried to be more positive on reasons for the new library. Pictures were used to illustrate the need. There was also a decision to schedule publicity efforts a bit later than in the first campaign. Part of the reason for this was that a firehouse bond issue was scheduled in February.

During the first campaign the library and the fire department had worked together to get out the vote, even sharing speakers' platforms and slide equipment at clubs. The fire equipment bond referendum had passed in 1964, and the firehouse bond referendum in February, 1965. The library got a great deal of support from fire officials in the second try; the department made public statements labeling the old building a fire hazard.

A steering committee aided the lay chairman, coordinating efforts, making policies, and contacting people. Under the board members as ward chairmen, precinct committeemen were found and block captains appointed. Lists of registered voters in each precinct were reprinted for the workers. Better brochures were made up, and the distribution door-to-door was thorough. Much publicity was directed at teaching the public how to vote correctly--an X instead of "yes."

An open house was held at the library just two weeks before the election to celebrate the anniversary of 100 years of library service in Peoria. The event received a lot of publicity.

In the year between the two referendums, a suburban residential area had been annexed to the city. One of the promises made to the residents when they voted on annexation was that library service would be extended to them immediately, and that a branch library would be built in the area as soon as possible. Indeed library service was the first city service to be extended to them. Prior to the second election, these new residents were registering as library borrowers at a fast pace, and by the month before the election 3,300 had registered. The precincts in this area all carried the library issue by large margins, and it was their margins that served in fact to carry the city.

The only change in the ballot on the second election was that the estimate of the cost had risen $350,000. The library benefited from the excitement in the revitalization of Peoria; many of these projects had become a reality in the year between or were under way. This, plus the energetic campaign and the addition of the annexed suburban voters, helped carry the issue.

CHAPTER V

PRELIMINARY DECISIONS

Before the librarians and boards in Champaign, Quincy, and Peoria decided to finance new buildings by means of bond issues, several decisions had already been made. Although each phase of the process is not as sharply defined as the following description might indicate, the same steps were taken in about the same order by each library. The differences were more of degree than of kind.

The first problem which the librarians and the boards faced was bringing into focus an awareness that expanded facilities were needed for the library. Recognition of this need was followed by a decision, supported by expert outside advice, to build a new structure. Finally, alternative methods of financing the construction were investigated, and the decision was made to propose a bond issue requiring a referendum to be approved by a majority of those voting on the proposition.

Recognition of Need

In 1963, a point in time when the three libraries were facing this need for additional space, half of the public libraries in Illinois serving populations greater than 25,000 were housed in buildings constructed before 1921. Of these buildings, one-third had been constructed before 1900.[1]

Illinois' need for replacing old library buildings is not unique since a recent analysis of national statistics suggests that "some 38 percent of existing library buildings are more than 40 years old."[2] The bond issue campaigns that were planned in these three cities were to provide money to replace buildings constructed before 1900. Quincy was the oldest, occupied in 1889. The Champaign building was erected in 1896, and the Peoria library in 1897. These three cities, then, faced a problem which is common to many cities in Illinois, that of having a library housed in an old, unsatisfactory building.

The inadequacy of all three buildings was becoming evident through increased maintenance costs. Space for readers, staff, and books was insufficient. The catalog department in Quincy, as well as the film library, were located in the high-ceilinged basement beneath heating pipes. Champaign was shelving books in fireplaces, and Peoria had expanded into a remodeled garage next door. Such facilities made curtailing existing services a possibility. Adding new services was difficult because of lack of space.

A need for expanded facilities was evident to the Quincy Daily Herald as far back as 1920, when it stated in an editorial that "some day in the not very distant future Quincy must provide a new library building."[3] The need was partially met by small additions during the 1920's and again during the 1940's. A city plan for Quincy, developed by Harland Bartholomew and Associates in 1960, suggested combining the library with a civic and cultural center.[4] By the end of 1963, the library board had recognized the need in more concrete terms by purchasing a piece of property immediately east of the present building and by hiring a building consultant.

In Champaign, the need for expanded facilities was recognized during the mid-50's when Simon-Rettberg, local architects, were asked to submit plans for expansion of the current site. A community survey was also conducted in 1957, with conclusions quite critical of library service in Champaign being drawn by the investigators. Champaign began to accumulate money for the proposed construction in 1963 when a building improvement fund was established.

Peoria's library board officially recognized a need for expanded facilities in 1955 when the present librarian was hired with an understanding that he was to undertake a solution to the building needs. A long-range library plan was approved by the city's planning department.

Once the need for more space and for changes in the library's quarters was recognized, the libraries had several alternatives open. First, they could remodel the old building or they could build a new building. If a new building was decided upon, its location would involve still another decision. Should the same location be used, or should a new site be obtained? Finally, the librarians and their boards could choose to do nothing for a time.

Although the libraries may appear to have chosen the last alternative, at least for a few years, this time lag was more likely used to achieve a consensus of board opinion. Some members of the Champaign board realized quite early that an entirely new building was the most sensible solution, and they were waiting for an opportunity to convince other members. When Quincy and Peoria entered the active phase, it was with the backing, at least on the surface, of the entire board.

While the librarians and their staffs were busy with the daily operation of the library and with other administrative tasks, members of the boards were also occupied with other, personal activities. None of them could devote their entire energies to solving the building needs of the library.

Seeking Advice

All three libraries investigated the possibility of remodeling the existing building before deciding on a new structure. The building consultants in Peoria demolished this course of action by stating flatly that they would only recommend a new building. If an addition was built, the library should move into the addition while tearing down the old building. Quincy's building consultant recommended that the architect be instructed to draw two sets of plans, one based on remodeling, and one on a new building. After receiving reports on the problems involved in remodeling their building, the board was willing to consider a new structure.

As in Quincy, several members of the Champaign board hoped that remodeling, or remodeling with an addition, would be feasible. Joseph L. Wheeler, who was retained to do a library survey and to make recommendations about site selection and possible remodeling, made a report to the board clearly favoring a new building.

When expert opinion ruled out the desirability of remodeling the old buildings, the librarians and their boards were left with only one real alternative--to build a new library. Perhaps they could have searched for another building to remodel, but this course of action does not seem to have been seriously considered in any of the three cities. With the choice made for a new building, an allied possibility arose, that of selecting a new site.

Both Quincy and Peoria remained with their old sites but for different reasons. Champaign chose a new site. Although the librarian and board in Peoria were relatively satisfied with the old site, they did search for better alternative locations in the downtown area. After exhausting the possibilities, the board chose to move ahead with plans to enlarge the old site. While the Quincy board made tentative investigations of other sites, these were not examined in a systematic fashion. Even before the building consultant was retained, the Quincy library had purchased property adjoining its present site. The board felt some commitment to the old location, where the library had always been, and gave less emphasis to this "decision point" than did Peoria and Champaign.

The Champaign board found that they would not have enough space on the first floor even if the site could be enlarged by acquiring several adjacent lots. They also wanted to move nearer the downtown area in a more visible location.

Various kinds of technical experts are available to library boards and librarians who are planning a new building. Potential sources (which were not utilized extensively by these cities) include their local planning boards and the Illinois State Library. The Quincy city plan, for example, was developed by a planning firm located outside the city without consultation with the librarian and board. Consequently the librarian and board did not adopt the inadequate site suggested in the plan. Lois Bewley has discussed the relationship between library planners and city planners, suggesting that a potential exists for far greater cooperation between the two groups.[5]

Studies of community opinion and attitude toward the library can be valuable to a board. Conveniently, Quincy was selected to be the subject of a study by George Fry Associates of the image of the public library to the general public.[6] Using a non-probability sample, the investigators found that people thought highly of the library. The Champaign board commissioned two faculty members from the University of Illinois Library School to survey the community's opinion of the library. The use made of public opinion surveys varied between the cities. In none of the three did the survey of public opinion investigate potential reactions to voting for a bond issue.

The role of the building consultant also varied between the cities. The consultant to Quincy, Robert Rohlf, was primarily concerned with giving advice on alternatives which were open and on working with the architect and the librarian in preparing plans. In Champaign the consultant, Lester Stoffel, refined the written building programs and advised on strategy in the bond issue campaign. The Peoria Public Library did not retain a building consultant, but a local advertising firm was hired to help plan the bond issue campaign.

Choosing Methods of Financing

Several alternatives are open to the public library faced with the need of financing a new or expanded building. These alternatives may be grouped into two areas: support from gifts or grants or support from local tax funds.

Gifts have traditionally been an important source of funds for public libraries, from the Carnegie Foundation to civic-minded citizens of the local community. Since the 1950's, grants from the Federal government through the Library Services and Construction Act have been an important source of funds for the construction or expansion of public libraries.

The public library standards, adopted by the Public Library Association, recommended that the major financial support for public libraries should come from the community served by the library, since the library provides a service that affects public policy.[7]

Local financing can take the form of accumulating funds or issuing bonds. Either method is permitted by Illinois law, but the accumulation of funds does not require a referendum. The library board, with the approval of the city government, may set aside tax monies over a period of years in a building fund. Before it can secure approval to accumulate money the board must present plans showing how the money will be used.

If the library board chooses to ask for a bond referendum, they must obtain the city council's approval to hold the election. A majority of those voting in the election is necessary for passage. Bonds issued under this procedure are a general obligation of the city.

Part of a library's construction costs could be met by another agency in return for space in the building. This might include a civic building, cultural center, or library system headquarters.

In all three cities studied the library board applied for funds under Title II of LSCA. Their requests were approved contingent upon passage of the bond issue. Gifts were not contemplated as a major source of funds by any of the boards, but those offered were not, of course, refused.

In Champaign the board secured city council approval in 1963 to begin accumulating funds. Since this levy was only yielding between $15,000 and $20,000 yearly, many years would have had to pass before Champaign could finance a new library by this method.

One potential source of funds was not attempted in Peoria and Quincy. These buildings were being planned while library systems were being established in their regions. Both were designated as headquarters, and building plans were developed accordingly, but money was not available from the system to cover any part of the cost. Champaign would have received some construction money from the Lincoln Trail Libraries system.

The major source of funds for each of the new buildings was to be the proceeds from general obligation bonds. Thus a referendum was required by law. Once approval of a date was secured from the city council, the boards focused their attention on the organization and conduct of the campaigns.

References to Chapter V

[1] This information was obtained from the annual statistics number of Illinois Libraries for 1964. Missing information was obtained from the numbers for 1965, 1966, and 1967. Of 43 libraries in Illinois serving populations of over 25,000, 8 were housed in buildings constructed before 1900, 16 in buildings constructed between 1901 and 1920, 16 in buildings constructed after 1920, and 3 in buildings whose age could not be determined.

[2] "Public Libraries," Illinois Libraries, 50 (February, 1968), 183. Reprinted from State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing, a study prepared for the Subcommittee on Economic Progress of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States; Public Facility Needs (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), I.

[3] Quincy Daily Herald, Feb. 3, 1920, as quoted in campaign publicity.

[4] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, A Report Upon the 1960 Official Comprehensive Plan, Quincy, Illinois (St. Louis: 1960), p. 34.

[5] Lois M. Bewley. "The Public Library and the Planning Agency," ALA Bulletin, 61 (September, 1967), 968-974.

[6] George Fry Associates, "Community Image of the Free Public Library, Quincy, Illinois," unpublished report dated October 29, 1964.

[7] Public Library Association. Minimum Standards for Public Library Systems, 1966 (Chicago: American Library Association, 1967), p. 19.

CHAPTER VI

PLANNING AND CONDUCTING THE CAMPAIGNS

Planning the Campaign

Since Illinois state law permits the vote on a bond issue to be conducted as part of either a regular or a special election, each library had the opportunity to choose its own time. Champaign chose to hold its referendum as a special election. The librarian and board were following the advice of their building consultant whose preference was for a "quiet campaign" theme. Such a campaign would be primarily an attempt to urge friends of the library to vote in a special election, and would further hope that opponents might not bother to vote. Champaign was reluctant to join in a general city election which they feared might feature a bitter fight between candidates for the city council. In addition, Champaign wanted to select a date when university personnel would not have scattered to other places for the summer. They also hoped to use the PTA organizations to reach potentially favorable voters. Thus a date in June, 1967, was selected.

Library board members in Peoria and Quincy felt that a special election, in the opinion of some voters, smacks of underhandedness. The time chosen, while favorable to the library, might be inconvenient to many citizens. Indeed, a special election might antagonize some. Holding the vote in connection with the general election would permit the larger number of voters appearing at such elections to express their opinion on the library bonds.

Evidence favoring either special or general elections is spotty. In a study of turnout for school elections, Carter and Savard found that higher turnout was often associated with a defeat of the financial issue. They suggest that if the additional voters are favorable then higher turnout need not be feared.[1] If their conclusions are applicable to voting behavior on library bond issue elections, they provide a suggestion that the library proposing a bond issue in a general election should attempt to make certain that voters who favor the bond issue do cast their ballots. However, a study by Stone of local referendums concluded that because the high turnout electorate consists predominantly of people inactive in civic affairs and because the attitudes and voting inclinations of these inactivists are unstable, election outcomes are not predictable on the basis of size of turnout.[2] Since the high turnout referendum necessarily involves participation by those who are usually inactive and almost always uninformed and whose attitudes are malleable, a concerted effort must be made to reach these people with clearly stated appeals.

The Quincy board gave an additional reason for preferring a general election to a special election. Not only would a larger proportion of citizens be likely to vote in the general election, but the taxpayers would be saved the cost of the special election. The board could place itself in the position of being extremely cost-conscious, while at the same time asking for higher taxes.

In addition to choosing the type of election and the date for the election, decisions must be made concerning the precise role of the librarian, the board, and citizen representatives in the campaign. The Quincy board sought as campaign co-chairmen two men who had worked on a successful sewer bond campaign several years before. After these men withdrew about two months before the election, a third lay person was selected to head the campaign as executive secretary. When she resigned because of illness, another, younger, woman was appointed. After the two co-chairmen withdrew and committees were set up, the board, librarian, and committee chairmen acted as a steering committee for the campaign.

Champaign's campaign organization was more clearly pyramidal with the librarian and one member of the board at the top, acting as co-chairmen. They utilized members of the Friends of the Library to serve as campaign workers. Most of the board members did not participate actively in the campaign. Of the three cities, Peoria's first campaign best represents the librarian-run campaign, and board non-involvement. The librarian and his assistant directed the campaign with some help from lay people and especially from the advertising agency. The board, in the first campaign, did not take an active role.

These variations in the organizational structure of the campaign, with differing degrees of lay involvement, suggest the question of the proper role of the librarian and library board in such a situation. The librarian and board, if they are too actively involved, can be accused of trying to put something over on the community, or at least of being self-seeking. On the other hand, a librarian and board who remain behind the scenes, letting a group of citizens appear to be asking for a favorable vote, can give the impression of responding to a need for a new building which is expressed by the experts--the librarian and the board--and shared by members of the community. Although the information collected in these case studies is only suggestive, the newspaper accounts give the impression, reinforced by the description of the campaign organization, that in these three cities, the voters would be likely to conclude that the librarians and board themselves, and not the public, were asking for a new building and were suggesting the bond issue as the best means for financing the construction.

As they did in preparing the building programs and building plans, librarians in the three cities made use of expert advice when planning the bond issue campaign. In all cases the librarian did some reading about bond issue campaigns in other communities. The librarian in Quincy also sought help from the state library and advice from librarians who had been through similar campaigns, including the librarian in Peoria. Champaign made use of the experience of their building consultant in planning their campaign strategy. While Quincy retained the services of a local person to develop publicity materials, especially for presentation to the city council, Peoria hired a local advertising firm which aided in developing brochures and in handling publicity on radio and television.

Conducting the Campaign

There are two matters that must be settled before a campaign actually begins. The first is whether the approach will be primarily an attempt to inform voters that a need exists or an attempt to persuade them to vote for the bond issue. A purely informational campaign would present the facts and let them serve as proof of the community's need. A persuasive campaign would attempt to influence the voters through emotional appeals, relying heavily on an assumption that the public is already generally favorable toward the public library. An informational campaign could be pursued over a period of months, or even years, before moving into the final phase with an appeal for funds. Both approaches were combined in varying degrees in these three campaigns. Champaign used some facts but based most of their efforts on the persuasive appeal. Peoria rested its case on the facts with an addition of some emotional appeal in the second campaign. Quincy combined the two approaches.

The second aspect of campaign execution that must be settled involves the question of deciding toward whom the campaign will be directed. Both Quincy and Peoria chose to aim their campaigns toward everyone in the city. In Quincy, the library forces worked with the local newspaper to obtain coverage. They organized volunteers to distribute leaflets door-to-door throughout the city. Peoria also saturated the city with handbills and, in their second, successful campaign, organized precinct captains who supervised block workers.

Champaign's library forces were committed to a selective campaign, but it did not work because they failed to define clearly what groups were to receive attention.

The political expertise of the library boards appeared to vary in the three cities. Measuring political expertise by the political offices which board members held, the Peoria board was most expert, followed by Quincy. While the Peoria board included a state senator, and the Quincy board included one alderman and the assistant superintendent of schools (who had worked closely with successful school financial campaigns), the Champaign board was comprised of citizens who, while influential, were not politically oriented. Although the mayors and some council members in Champaign and Quincy favored passage of the library bond issue, they did not campaign actively for it. Champaign city officials were pessimistic from the start about the bond issue's chances for success.

In using local communications media, pro-library forces in each city adapted their use to the particular exigencies of each situation. The library campaigns involved submitting material to the local newspapers which reported the library's needs with pictures, feature articles, and news items. The newspaper coverage culminated in paid advertisements a few days before the election (featuring the building plans in Quincy), and in editorials urging a vote for the library bonds. In Quincy, as in Peoria's second campaign, there was no paid advertising until a few days before the election. Peoria forces sought, and obtained, the support of the local labor newspaper. The house organ of a major Peoria industry also urged passage of the library bonds.

Local radio stations were supplied with spot announcements in Peoria and Quincy. Quincy made use of public service time. Since Champaign stations serve an area much beyond the city, radio was not used there. During the last few weeks of both campaigns, Peoria devoted its weekly program on community issues to the need for a new library.

The expense of television time limited the use of this medium by Champaign and Quincy. When opposition arose in Quincy, library supporters apparently curtailed their use of television because the stations would have to give equal time to the opposition. Champaign felt they should not spend money for television time since voters might criticize the expense involved.

Very early in its campaign, the Peoria library held an open house for the news media. Two television stations later made arrangements for half-hour documentaries on the library's need. The Peoria library also received editorial support from the three local stations. Peoria's spot announcements were prepared by the advertising agency which helped to plan the campaign.

Various other techniques were used, supplementing radio, newspapers, and television, to inform citizens of the library's need, urging them to vote for the bond issue proposal. Brochures were distributed door-to-door in Quincy. Workers were asked to deliver the brochure personally to the resident, to urge a favorable vote, and to answer any questions the resident might have. Champaign used a number of mailing lists as a basis for distributing leaflets door-to-door, having learned from their experience in the first campaign that a man hired to place leaflets under windshield wipers in shopping centers did not do the job as thoroughly as expected.

The campaigns included speeches by the librarians and board members to organized groups, such as church organizations and service groups. Quincy also made use of students from the local college who undertook many speaking assignments. The librarian in Peoria felt the speeches did little to convince voters and, although the lay chairman in the first campaign felt that speeches did help, they were de-emphasized in Peoria's second campaign. This second campaign was planned to build on the momentum of the first, a point which is discussed in more detail at the end of Chapter IV.

Endorsements of the bond issue were sought in Quincy from local groups. Names of these groups were publicized late in the campaign. In Peoria, no attempt was made to obtain formal resolutions of support from local organizations.

Informal coffee hours were planned in Quincy and Champaign. Although plans in Quincy originally called for a coffee hour on every block in the city, the number was drastically reduced because not enough women could be found who were willing to provide coffee and premises. The Friends of the Library in Champaign planned the coffee hours, using them as a means of distributing postcards to each person attending. These cards were to be addressed and mailed to friends, urging a vote for the library.

Plans were made in all three cities for citizens to visit the library to see for themselves why a new building was needed. The Quincy open house was not well attended. Champaign used a local newspaper columnist as a speaker at its open house to attract people. In addition to its open house for news media personnel, held well in advance of the opening of its campaign, Peoria issued a standing offer to provide tours. Despite the small number of people who took advantage of the invitation, planners of the campaign felt this proved the library's willingness to display evidence of their need for a new building.

How were these campaigns financed? Peoria retained an advertising firm (which charged only costs), and all three campaigns used printed leaflets and some paid advertising. Precisely comparable figures are impossible to obtain. Quincy depended on donated services and money given to pay for printing and for advertisements. Peoria and Champaign used revenue in amounts equal to fine receipts. In all three cities the library supporters were unwilling to use clearly identifiable tax income to pay for the campaign. Financing such a campaign, with its attempt to persuade people to vote for an issue rather than to provide information on both sides of a question, presents librarians and their boards with an ethical, if not a legal, problem. None of the cities conducted a separate fund-raising campaign to obtain money to pay for the bond issue campaign. Peoria, however, appealed successfully to its supporters for money to finance a recount. Although precise comparisons of campaign expenditures are not possible or justifiable, it is clear that Peoria spent more than Champaign or Quincy. But the size of its library operation and Peoria's larger population go far toward explaining this difference.

While the way the campaigns were organized and carried through suggests the amount of work which may go into even an unsuccessful campaign, this is only part of the story. The campaigns raised many issues, and the arguments given by the proponents illustrate how the library forces planned to persuade people to vote "yes" on the library bond issue.

All campaigns stressed the inadequacy of the existing library buildings, pointing out that expanded services were not possible in the old quarters. Champaign used national library standards to suggest the amount of space they needed. Quincy pointed to the convenient downtown location of its present site and suggested that alternative sites would merely increase the money needed for the project. Plans in Quincy called for erecting the new building and occupying it before the old library was razed. Thus service would not be interrupted for long and the cost of moving into temporary quarters would be avoided.

Peoria tied its campaign to plans for rebuilding the city core, arguing that the public library should not be left behind while the downtown district was being rebuilt. Peoria, like the other libraries, also appealed to people's desire to have good educational facilities available for their children. Citing its high use by students, Peoria forces argued that the library was very important in the education of the city's youth. The city also needed an adequate main library to serve its branch libraries properly. In addition, proponents stressed the small tax increase which the bond issue would entail.

As the pro-library campaigns intensified, opposition developed in all three cities in large enough measure to contribute to the defeat of the referendums. Unlike Champaign and Quincy, opposition in Peoria was not organized. It became known largely through letters to the local newspaper and by means of rumors, one to the effect that certain branches would be closed if the referendum passed. Sources of information on the Peoria campaign, as in the other cities, indicated that the opposition was not indicative of animosity toward the library but rather of an unwillingness to raise taxes.

A conservative member of the Champaign city council voted against giving the library persmission to holds its referendum. The councilman's opposition provided a rallying point for conservative elements, joined by some real estate owners, who opposed a tax increase. Their opposition was also based on the site chosen for the new library, which was criticized as too expensive, and on the use of a Federal grant to supplement local funds. Lack of adequate parking on, or near, the proposed site was also a major criticism of opponents.

Less than a month before the referendum date in Champaign, residents received property tax bills containing increases over the previous year. This produced a large group of voters with little sympathy for any appeal, no matter how worthy, that would further raise their taxes.

Although Federal funds were planned for the Quincy project, their use does not appear to have been an issue. The opposition was focused on the existing building which, it was argued, should be preserved to maintain the appearance of the public square, for which it forms a corner. A local industrialist, active in local and state cultural activities, made his opposition to the library bond issue public less than three weeks before election day in handbills distributed door-to-door throughout the city. The handbills also pointed out that the library board had not investigated any alternative to tax funds. They had not asked local people and foundations for money to help in building a new library. The board argued that they would accept gifts but felt that, as a public institution, the library should derive the bulk of its funds from local tax income.

The opposition in Quincy also suggested that the board had not provided for adequate discussion of the proposal by the people. This reasoning also appeared in Champaign. Although the boards had been working to solve the library's need for several years and news items had appeared in local papers, this does not necessarily mean that the general public was aware of either the library's need or the board's plans. Column inches of publicity are a very inadequate measure of public perception on an issue. Since no surveys of public knowledge or attitudes were conducted on the library issues before the elections, it is impossible to use objective data to examine the extent to which citizens were aware of the libraries' needs and the boards' proposals to meet those needs. Given the low level of information which many voters have in presidential elections, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that some voters could feel they had not been kept informed.

References to Chapter VI

[1] Richard F. Carter and William G. Savard, Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare," Cooperative Research Monograph," No. 5; Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1961).

[2] Clarence N. Stone, "Local Referendums: An Alternative to the Alienated-Voter Model," Public Opinion Quarterly, 29 (Summer, 1965), 213-222.

CHAPTER VII

THE ELECTIONS

For the three public libraries, election day was the culmination of the efforts which began, in some cases, several years earlier. The campaign was then over and the outcome was in the voter's hands. As part of the information provided during their campaigns, the Champaign and Quincy libraries pointed out that all residents of the city were eligible to vote on the library issue even if they had not registered. In Champaign's special election, very few people who were not registered did vote.

Despite the efforts which had been made during the campaigns and during the planning period before the campaign, the Champaign, Quincy, and the first Peoria bond issue referendums were defeated. Table 2 shows the total vote for each of the three defeats. The second, successful election in Peoria is also included for comparison. In calculating the turnout we have assumed, based on the few non-registered people who voted in Champaign, that the registration figures for the election closest to the library election provide an accurate enough

TABLE 2

VOTER TURNOUT IN FOUR ELECTIONS

City	Type of Election	Total Vote	Mean Turnout (%)	Median Turnout (%)	Range in Precincts Lowest (%)	Range in Precincts Highest (%)
Quincy*	general	16,097	66.8	68.6	51.5	84.4
Champaign	special	4,621	23.2	23.4	5.0	41.5
Peoria (first)	general (primary)	21,957	47.4	46.5	21.4	76.9
Peoria (second)	general	39,400	61.9	63.1	35.8	84.9

*One precinct is excluded because of incomplete data.

estimate of the potential turnout that could be expected. Using the registration figures for each precinct, and the total vote for that precinct, the turnout for each precinct was calculated. The differences in turnout between the two Peoria elections may be due to normal differences in turnout between a primary election (the first) and a general election (the second).

In an extensive study of voter turnout for school bond and tax elections, Carter and Savard found that higher turnout is associated with defeated issues. They conclude, however, that higher turnout should not be feared by supporters if the new increments of votes come from people favorably disposed to the issue.[1] Applying this reasoning to the Peoria elections, the only city in which we can compare two library referendums, the higher turnout in the second election appears to have consisted of voters favorable to the library. Similar comparisons could be made between various kinds of issues in a city if one is willing to assume that voting behavior on the various issues would be similar. Analysis of precinct voting in several kinds of referendums might be a useful preliminary exercise in predicting turnout for a future library election.

In each of these four elections the areas of highest turnout were those inhabited chiefly by professional people and white collar workers. Analyzing their results, Peoria library supporters concluded that turnout was also higher in areas where door-to-door campaigning had been done. Consequently they did more of this, over larger areas, in their second campaign.

If the elections in Quincy and Peoria follow the pattern of other local elections, turnout for the library issue was lower than turnout for the other issues. Indeed, examination of the total votes for other issues indicates that the pattern held. It seems likely that a library can decrease this "ballot fatigue" in an election in which it must compete with other issues by a concerted door-to-door campaign designed to make people aware of the library referendum. This technique would allow inter-personal, face-to-face communication to take place between the citizen and the library supporter who explains why the citizen's vote is needed for the library. The importance of informal discussion in persuading voters is described by Boskoff and Zeigler, among others.[2]

There are at least four ways in which those who are planning a bond issue campaign can have some effect on turnout. Although we have not discussed it in relation to these issues, it seems reasonable to suggest that turnout would be higher if the issue is well-publicized. Turnout can also be influenced by the kind of election of which the issue is a part since higher turnout is generally associated with major general elections and a lower turnout with less major--we hesitate to say minor--special elections.

The precincts with low turnout in Champaign and Peoria were those in Negro areas and also in "blue collar" but white sections of the city. The pattern was less clear in Quincy where the small number of Negro residents is split among several precincts.

Turning from a discussion of who voted to how they voted, Table 3 illustrates the range of favorability between the four elections and within each election. The range was calculated on the basis of the total "yes" and "no" votes for each precinct. Next, the mean was obtained from the percent "yes" summed for the precincts in each election. Since data were not complete for two Quincy precincts these were omitted from the calculations on which Table 3 is based.

TABLE 3

PERCENT VOTING "YES" IN FOUR ELECTIONS*

City	Mean Percent Yes Vote	Range in Precincts Lowest	Range in Precincts Highest
Quincy**	38.2	26.6	71.2
Champaign	24.3	0.0	65.0
Peoria (first)	49.1	20.8	87.0
Peoria (second)	53.1	26.8	82.8

[*] Calculated by precinct from the total of yes and no votes.

[**] Two precincts are excluded because of incomplete data.

Clearly the range of favorability was great, not only between but also within, elections. The means for the two Peoria elections show that the issue failed on the first attempt by a narrow margin but succeeded on the second try by a slightly higher margin.

On the basis of these results the four elections can be ranked as follows, from most favorable to least favorable: 1) Peoria's second election, 2) Peoria's first election, 3) Quincy, and 4) Champaign. Several factors may account for this ranking. The campaigns in Peoria may have been more decisive, better planned, and better organized, thus permitting the library's need to speak for itself more clearly. Secondly, the rank appears to reflect the greater amount of opposition manifested in the Quincy and Champaign situations. Possibly, although our data shed little light on this point, there may also have been less latent opposition to increased taxes in Peoria. Finally, the ranking by favorability of these three elections may reflect the amount of political expertise available to the library supporters in the campaigns.

Turning to the areas of the city which were most favorable, we find that these were usually areas where "white collar" and professional people lived. Lacking adequate, up-to-date socio-economic data, such as that provided by the decennial census, we have relied on characterizations made by people in the community who described the nature of these precincts for us. In Champaign and Peoria, areas inhabited by Negroes were also among the most favorable. These conclusions support those of Garrison who made a more rigorous ecological analysis of library bond issue elections in Seattle and Akron.[3]

Inspection of precinct election results in Peoria and Champaign suggested that a relationship might exist between level of turnout and level of favorability. A frequency count of the precincts with high percentages of "yes" votes included both those precincts with high percentages of voter turnout and those with low voter turnout. The least favorable precincts seemed to fall nearer the mean of percent registered voters voting.

To test whether this apparent relationship could be accounted for by chance, Chi-square was used.[4] When applied to the precinct results in Champaign and Quincy, the Chi-square obtained was not statistically significant. Any relationship between turnout and favorability in these two elections could be accounted for by chance. When applied to the Peoria election results, however, the results were significant at the .01 level.

Given the limited scope of this study, it is difficult to assign much importance to these results. However, since the precincts with high voter turnout were those located in higher socio-economic residential areas and the precincts with low turnout were in areas inhabited chiefly by Negroes, the Peoria election supports Garrison's studies in Seattle and Akron. The three factors--socio-economic rank, voter turnout, and favorability--seem to be interrelated.

References to Chapter VII

[1] Richard F. Carter and William G. Savard, Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Cooperative Research Monograph," No. 5; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 20-22.

[2] Alvin Boskoff and Harmon Zeigler, Voting Patterns in a Local Election (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964), pp. 85-88.

[3] Guy Garrison, Seattle Voters and Their Public Library ("Research Series," No. 2; Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Library, 1961), pp. 73-75, and his "Voting on a Library Bond Issue: Two Elections in Akron, Ohio, 1961 and 1962," Library Quarterly, 33 (July 1963), 229-241.

[4] Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), pp. 212-221.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report describes the lengthy process which these librarians and their boards went through, beginning with recognition that the library needed modernized facilities and ending with bond issue referendum elections. In Quincy and Champaign, the bond issue proposals were defeated, while in Peoria the bond issue was approved on the second try and the new library has since been built.

The generalized process outlined in the flow chart in this chapter is an attempt to represent the experiences in all three cities. The chart summarizes the direction of our earlier discussion by beginning with the decision of the library board that the physical condition of the library building needs improvement. This is the earliest point at which the librarian and board use the services of a variety of technical advisors. Once a decision has been made to formulate a building program, the board makes decisions on retention of the old building, the possibility of a new site, and method of financing. If a bond issue is to be sought, then decisions on the emphasis, organization, and conduct of the campaign are made. Differences in the way each step was handled for the three libraries suggest that there are recognizable differences between successful and unsuccessful campaigns.

Three decision points on the charts appear to be especially critical because other events follow from them. Once a decision has been made to seek financing through a bond issue requiring approval of the voters, the library is faced with the following decisions: 1) the direction its campaign for support will take, 2) the date of the vote, and 3) the emphasis the campaign is to have, whether informational, persuasive, or a combination of both.

Two consequences follow from these decisions. The conduct of the campaign is influenced by the date, the emphasis, and the direction. The committee organization for the campaign is also related to these prior decisions. One example is the question of whether comprehensive door-to-door canvassing will be emphasized rather than contact with selected voters only.

While the nature of the decisions can be deduced from the organization and conduct of the campaign, it does not necessarily

FIGURE I: Chart 1

DECISION FLOW CHART FOR LIBRARY BOND REFERENDUMS

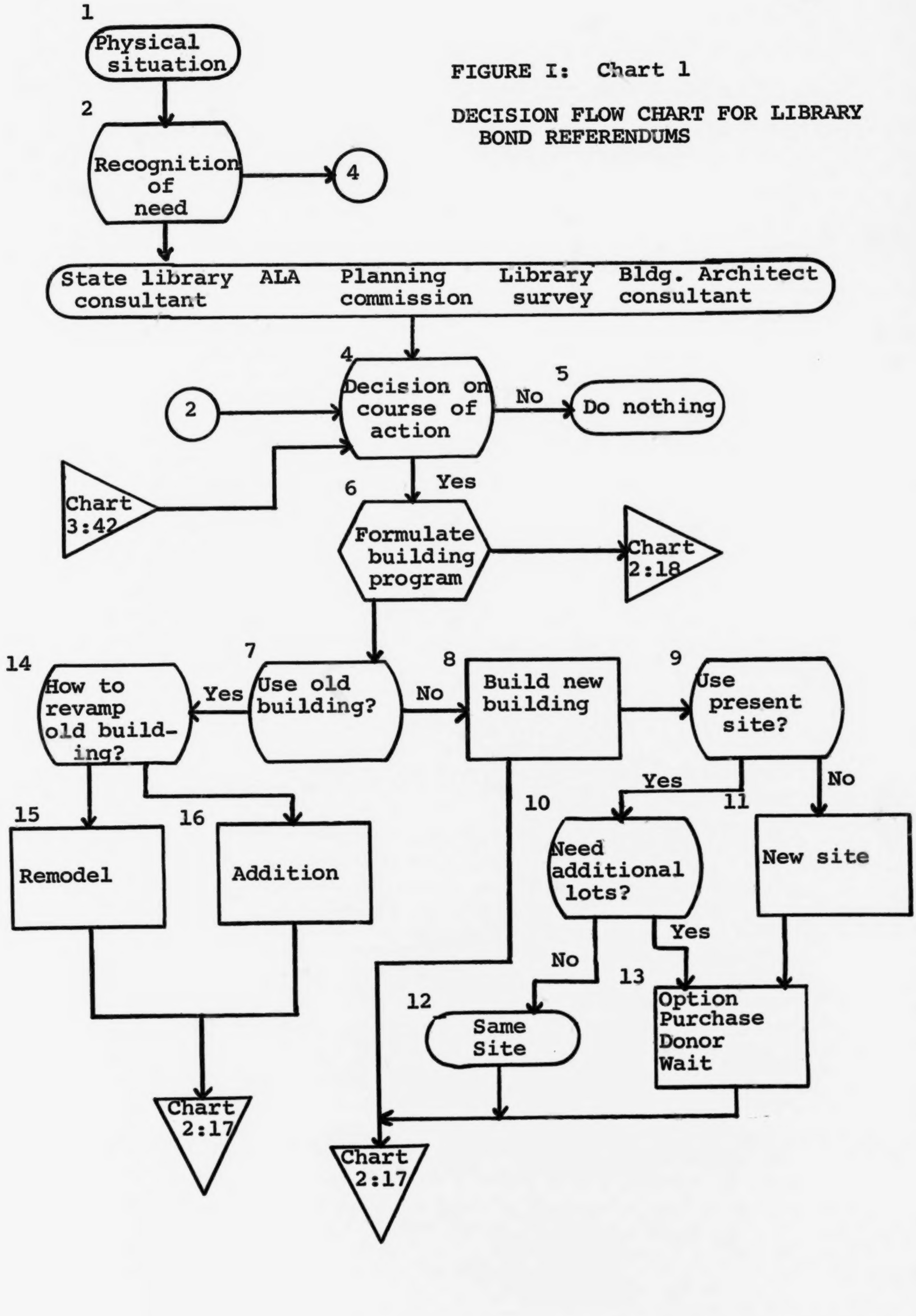
1
Physical situation
2
Recognition of need
4
State library consultant
ALA
Planning commission
Library survey
Bldg. Architect consultant
4
Decision on course of action
2
No
5
Do nothing
Chart 3:42
Yes
6
Formulate building program
Chart 2:18
7
Use old building?
Yes
14
How to revamp old build-ing?
No
8
Build new building
9
Use present site?
Yes
No
10
Need additional lots?
11
New site
15
Remodel
16
Addition
No
Yes
12
Same Site
13
Option
Purchase
Donor
Wait
Chart 2:17
Chart 2:17

FIGURE I:
Chart 2

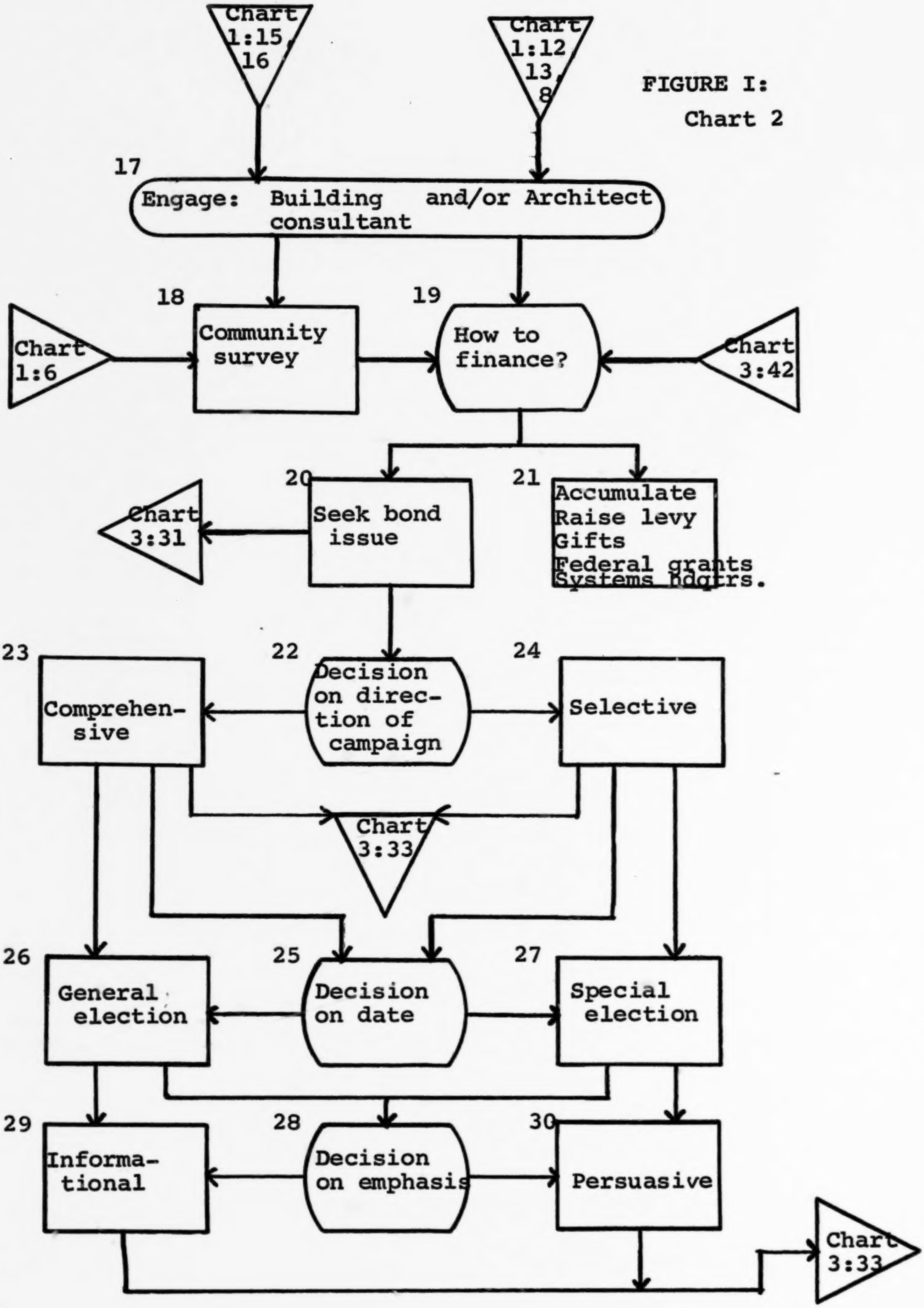
Chart 1:15, 16
Chart 1:12, 13, 8
17
Engage: Building consultant and/or Architect
18
Community survey
19
How to finance?
Chart 1:6
Chart 3:42
20
Seek bond issue
21
Accumulate
Raise levy
Gifts
Federal grants
Systems hdqtrs.
Chart 3:31
23
Comprehensive
22
Decision on direction of campaign
24
Selective
Chart 3:33
26
General election
25
Decision on date
27
Special election
29
Informational
28
Decision on emphasis
30
Persuasive
Chart 3:33

FIGURE I: Chart 3

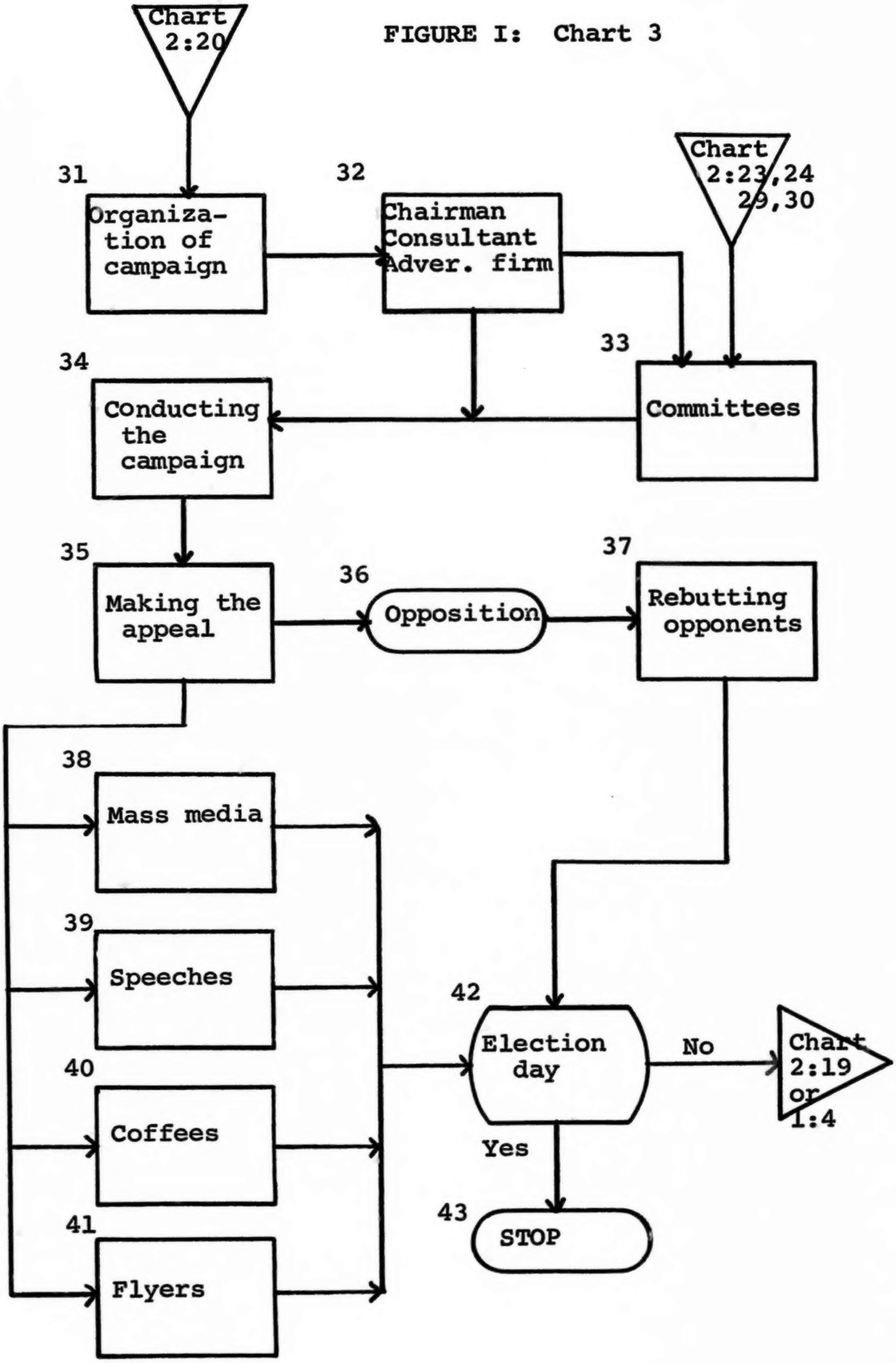
Chart 2:20
31
Organization of campaign
32
Chairman Consultant Adver. firm
Chart 2:23,24 29,30
33
Committees
34
Conducting the campaign
35
Making the appeal
36
Opposition
37
Rebutting opponents
38
Mass media
39
Speeches
40
Coffees
41
Flyers
42
Election day
No
Chart 2:19 or 1:4
Yes
43
STOP

follow that all these decisions were made or even recognized as decisions that should be made. It also does not necessarily follow that the decisions were made with full knowledge of their consequences What seems to be essential here is that library supporters develop a plan of strategy which they feel will work. An essential part of this is knowing that the strategy can be implemented successfully.

Having decided on a date, the library supporters may choose to develop a campaign which is both comprehensive and selective, informational and persuasive. If this is the result of a conscious strategy, the campaign may be successful. But if this campaign represents unclear thinking about who the library is trying to reach and how best to reach him, the campaign may fail.

Essentially, we are suggesting that there are, or should be, reasons for using or not using each technique. The campaigner who knows how each technique fits into an over-all plan, designed to succeed, is more likely to succeed than the campaigner who goes all out but in all directions.

Clearly, a great deal of work is involved, even in an unsuccessful campaign. The dedication and decisiveness of the board-librarian team is also very important in providing essential enthusiasm and support. More is required than unanimous but passive agreement that a new library is needed.

Residents of the communities who were interviewed suggested reasons for the defeat of the referendums. In Quincy the major reason was seen as the generally unfavorable attitude of the voters toward tax increases. Opponents of the issue had publicized a number of reasons for not demolishing the old library building. Informants felt that opposition to razing the building contributed to the issue's defeat. The board felt that the large number of decisions the voter was called upon to make, made manifest by the number of ballots he had to handle, contributed to the library's defeat. Several of the interviewees pointed to inadequacies in the library's campaign.

In Champaign the board and librarian felt that the major reason for their defeat was opposition to increased property taxes, coupled with a failure on their part to realize the depth of this opposition. The date, they felt in retrospect, was a poor one--both because of tax bills in May and the mental health referendum three days later.

Proponents of a new library for Peoria were disappointed by the close defeat in the first campaign, and felt the difference could have been overcome by just a little more hard work. While votes against the library were considered primarily votes against increased taxes, they were thought to be partially due to a lack of understanding on the part of the public as to the value to the city of a new main library.

The assessment made by the librarian and the board of the reasons for the defeat in Peoria are probably accurate. Undoubtedly opposition to more property taxes was a factor, and, coupled with an incomplete informational campaign, it was enough to defeat the referendum. This clearly indicated a second campaign to build on the first with a little greater effort and a more thorough approach to all sections of the city.

While it is difficult to say precisely without asking them, why voters in Quincy defeated the library referendum, certain factors probably contributed to the defeat. One of these contributing factors is voter dislike of tax increases. The number of issues on the ballot may have discouraged some people from voting for the library. Since all five special issues failed in Quincy, the possibility arises that some voters were simply voting "no" on all of them.

Another factor which might have contributed to the Quincy defeat was the choice of the November date. While the board did not anticipate the large number of special issues presented at that election, they did recognize that few issues of purely local interest would confront the voters.

The voters might have felt that the board had not planned the new library thoroughly enough. Although they had been working on building and financing plans for over a year, the board had not actively sought advice and guidance from the community. One cannot be certain, after the fact, whether additional publicity, at each step, would have changed the election outcome. At least the board would have been less vulnerable to the opposition's charge that people weren't being kept informed. The board was not attempting to conceal their plans, but they were making a minimal effort to inform voters.

The decentralized campaign organization which finally evolved also appears to have been a factor contributing to the library's defeat. The campaign management, headed by a steering committee and served by a series of executive secretaries, appears to have resulted in some duplication of effort among committees and in some confusion over who should make decisions. In one sense the steering committee was a good idea since its existence suggested the library bonds were supported by a broader range of the community than just the library board. But the size of the committee made it unwieldy.

In Champaign, the date chosen for the library bond issue referendum was perhaps the most decisive factor contributing to its defeat. The fact that tax bills were received in May, just as the library campaign was moving into public notice, was unfortunate. The deadline for payment of taxes was June 1, just two days before the referendum date. The board evidently failed to realize that for most people of moderate means the tax bill hurts most when, at last, it must be actually paid in hard cash. In 1967 the tax rate in Champaign had jumped 14 percent, due to the successful passage during the preceding year of a school bond issue, additional park district funding, and the establishment of a junior college district.

The referendum date became doubly unfortunate when an election to establish a mental health district was set for two days later. This was something that the library obviously could not control even though their date had been chosen first, but it did serve as a focal point for conservatives who have always battled hard against mental health funding. While they were fighting mental health it was easy to include the library. Perhaps the two issues taken separately might not have engendered such intense opposition.

Another factor of importance in this library election was the recent activity of conservatives on the Champaign political scene. The April elections proved their effectiveness when they united behind a candidate who ran second in the city council race. At the first council meeting he participated in, the new conservative councilman cast the only "no" vote on the question of allowing the library to hold its referendum. He obviously felt obligated, in terms of his beliefs, to vote this way; his stance of record gave the conservative opponents of the library cause a rallying point.

At this time the conservatives were still "up" following their victory in the city election, and their organization was still viable. They focused their opposition to the library referendum on two main issues. First, they are basically against anything that causes taxes to rise. Many are large property owners, and a tax hike hurts them personally. Working behind the scenes, they can convince large numbers of smaller taxpayers that they too will suffer. Secondly, conservatives are traditionally opposed to all "frills" being offered as services to the population.

The conduct of the campaign itself was of crucial importance. There had been no real background of continuing public relations effort on the part of the library, as opposed to publicity. The Champaign Public Library had not beein in the public eye. When the final weeks of the campaign began, and even after the election, many persons in the community felt that the whole thing was too sudden, that the public had had little time to think it over, and that the board had not given the merits of the alternatives proper consideration. No matter that the board had been grappling with the problem for years before proposing a solution, or that the need was urgent; what counted was the lack of a general public perception of the issue.

The over-all direction of the campaign left something to be desired. There was not a well-thought-out, consistent strategy. With some exceptions, the publicity coverage of the town was of a blanket nature rather than directed at specific areas or groups. A few members of the board and of the library staff did both the major and the minor tasks necessary in the campaign. The Friends of the Library were used for clerical tasks and telephoning and had little voice in the planning. Voters contacted during the campaign had not been asked for a firm commitment to vote "yes." Therefore, on the day of the election there was no list of names that could be counted on to serve as a basis for a last-minute telephone effort to get out the favorable vote. This would have been better than the use of non-selective lists of voters who, after being reminded to vote by the library, might be as likely to vote against the bond issue as for it. Even the use of lists of library registered borrowers is suspect, because the friends and users of a library are not necessarily the same.

In some ways the campaign was perfunctory, though this does not mean that those closely involved in it did not care a great deal about the outcome, or that they did not put sincere efforts into it. But they did drastically underestimate the appeal of their opponents. Perhaps they were too closely involved to assess realistically the depth of the opposition. The board was somewhat overconfident and never dreamed that the library project would be defeated, while persons in Champaign with more political knowledge felt just the opposite.

In an election for office there are normally two candidates, each serving as an opponent for the other. In a bond issue referendum, especially when supporters feel that most citizens will think the issue is for a "good cause," there seems to be less awareness of potential opposition. Plans for the campaign should include consideration of who is likely to oppose the bond issue and for what reasons. The obvious source of opposition comes from those who object to higher taxes, so that proponents of a library bond issue should be able to explain clearly and convincingly that the tax increase has been kept to a minimum.

The data gathered in this study do not permit measurement of the strength of voter opposition to increased taxes. The amount of this opposition could be investigated by interviewing a sample of voters shortly after the election. Voters could be asked how they voted and about the influence of various factors on their decision. The sample interviewed in such a study should be representative of the community. Unless voters themselves have given opposition to taxes as their reason for voting against a referendum, assessing this as a primary factor in the referendum's defeat is speculation.

Potential opposition does not end with taxes as our cases suggest. These other kinds of opposition should be anticipated so that the arguments can be countered. One way such opposition can be foreseen is by encouraging public discussion and by promoting public awareness of the library's need, even as the building program is being formulated. If the board and librarian are convinced that library facilities must be modernized, and the possibility of a bond issue election exists, the library has an opportunity to let the public share in its planning. Such cooperation may help to allay fears that something is being "put over" on the community. It also provides opportunities to answer potential opponents and to develop a corps of supporters who can be put to work during the campaign.

Our cases do not provide a clear-cut example of a successful campaign conducted by a citizens' committee, but they do indicate the potential value of such an arrangement. Not only is the library, as a public institution, more removed from the political arena by this device, but the librarian and board can be cast in the role of experts. They can provide information by explaining how plans were developed and how the new library is expected to benefit the city. As experts they cannot be accused of being self-seeking. That role is left to the citizens' committee which is attempting to improve the city.

Although the library is normally removed from the mainstream of community politics, when it seeks added financial support the library becomes more clearly a part of local government. Since the public library is infrequently thrown into the political arena, it would be surprising if knowledge of local politics were given high priority in selecting board members. Nevertheless, it would appear that knowledge of local politics, whether provided by the board or by others, is essential in planning and conducting successful financial campaigns.

Members of the library board and any other actively concerned supporters of the library should make a concerted private approach to the community power structure before the campaign formally opens.

With the increasing use of opinion polls by candidates for office, it is worth noting that these libraries did not make use of the technique. Polls of voter reaction to the public library could possibly be used to help in determining the site. Results could also be used in planning the appeal most likely to be acceptable.

The American Library Association, as the national professional organization for librarians, might play a larger role in providing advice and technical assistance to libraries which are planning referendums. More emphasis should be given to this kind of help by state library agencies. Although organizations on the state and national level are prepared to help in formulating the building program and in planning the building, much less attention has been given to aiding librarians and boards in solving the problems involved in planning and conducting campaigns to secure voter approval for library bonds.

The value of retaining professionally trained public relations personnel to help with the campaign should not be lightly ignored. While the techniques used to sell soap or toothpaste may not be appropriate for a library bond issue campaign, the expert knowledge of public relations people is valuable in planning advertising layout, wording of brochures, and speeches, as well as advising on the most effective methods of providing information to certain groups of people. The technical complexities involved in the use of mass media can also be dealt with more efficiently by professionals.

The groundwork for a successful library bond referendum should have begun years before with a concerted, continuing effort to explain and demonstrate how the public library can serve its community. This continuing public relations effort then offers a good base of favorable community opinion from which willing campaign workers can be drawn. The librarian and the board should be aware of the kinds of decisions which must be made, especially during the planning and execution of the pre-election campaign. They should know the consequences of their actions and how these are related to their over-arching objective of securing funds to build a modern public library.